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Reviving Musical Indigeneity: Institutionalization, Transmission, and Revival of Taiwan's Aboriginal Music

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Reviving Musical Indigeneity: Institutionalization, Transmission, and Revival of Taiwan's Aboriginal Music

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Dedication

To my parents

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Reviving Musical Indigeneity: Institutionalization, Transmission, and Revival of Taiwan's Aboriginal Music

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This dissertation studies the revival of Taiwan's Aboriginal music motivated by the emergence of a strong Aboriginal consciousness during the last three decades. This revivalism has been stimulated in part by government initiatives to foster diversity in the national arts, by the changing economies of Aboriginal musical performance, and by the Aboriginal communities' emerging commitment to musical-cultural preservation. Instead of framing revival as a mere counterhegemonic move of returning to an "authentic tradition" with a long history, this research argues that Aboriginal music revival is a contemporary phenomenon of constructing or reimagining the musical past enacted in discursive, performative, and institutional efforts. By emphasizing the articulation of musical indigeneity, this dissertation teases out the processes and multiple ways practitioners respond to the state and engage in the specific aspects of revived music in relation to their adaptations, interpretations, and cultural choices.

My dissertation links the study of Aboriginal music revival to recent literature related to affect, critical organology, and language revitalization, focusing on several essential phenomena of Aboriginal music revival: (1) the institutionalization and the state's heritage projects of Paiwan nose flutes (*lalingedan*) and mouth flutes (*pakulalu*) that have reinforced a particular thoughtful sorrow as a core aesthetic symbol of the

Paiwan; (2) the craftsmanship of Paiwan flute making and playing that are central to the transformation of the Paiwan soundscape and changing state's heritage projects, and; (3) the emerging movement of Aboriginal mother-tongue songwriting that participated in a wider revalorization of the "local" in Taiwan's music industry, with a particular focus on Paiwan songwriters. Through a close examination of affective, material, and vocal dimensions of Aboriginal Paiwan music, this study aims to provide an alternative mode to reexamine the naturalized connections to the ancient past and bounded reification of identities occurring in music revival. I argue that the examination of these dimensions of music contributes to the understanding of diverse manifestations of Aboriginal music and how certain aspects of local musical practices attain new importance as core values for revival.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

On May 20, 2016, the Puzangalan Choir, which is comprised of children from the Aboriginal Paiwan group in Taiwan, sang the "re-arranged" national anthem of the ROC (Republic of China) Taiwan during the inauguration of President Tsai Ing-Wen.[1] Beginning with a Paiwan chant and piano accompaniment, the national anthem was then mixed with the melody of a chant in a quasi-Paiwan call-and-response format, coupled with a choir conductor at the front. The main lyrics of this re-arranged national anthem were in Mandarin, sung by two other school choirs, while the response part was sung by Puzangalan Choir in the Paiwan language. The song then ended with the shout "*Ila hu*!" in the Paiwan language (literally, "let's go"), which aimed to symbolize ethnic harmony in contributing to the new Taiwanese national identity. The song was composed by the Paiwan director of the Puzangalan Choir, Muni Takivalit, who rearranged two Paiwan tunes assisted by Paiwan elders who adjusted the lyrics to relate with the needs to praise the nation. As the first performance of the national anthem that featured Aboriginal elements in Taiwan, such a performance captured the attention of the Paiwan people, or perhaps, Taiwan's Aboriginal community more broadly.

This performance of the national anthem and the reaction to it highlight some important issues about conceptions of Aboriginal music revival in contemporary Taiwan. As the Aboriginal material is claimed to be an essential component of this new national anthem, what aspects do those Aboriginal actors reintroduce from the past in order to symbolize Aborigines in the present? Who has the authority to determine criteria of "authenticity?" How do Aboriginal actors, scholars, or the government selectively identify certain aspects of the music as folk/traditional/ancient, and therefore reshape the

[1] Taiwanese Aborigines, descended from Malayo-Polynesian people who spoke Austronesian languages, had not been considered officially as what in English is termed Indigenous people until the indigenous

dissemination and transmission of the music? Has Aboriginal music revival gained its momentum from the wave of international indigenism?

WHY REVIVAL

Since the 1990s, Taiwan has witnessed a powerful Aboriginal music revival, which has developed many branches that feature a variety of repertories, styles, and musical inspirations. On the one hand, the concept of "Aboriginal music" has been pervasive in Taiwan's cultural discourses in the last two decades. On the other hand, the discourse of the "cultural revival" or "revitalization" frequently appeared in my conversations with my Aboriginal interlocutors in Taiwan. Many recalled growing up with "outside influences" or having heard discourses lamenting the loss of tradition. However, this motivation to revive something from the past is not shared widely among Aborigines. For some of them, returning to the past, or perhaps the "oldest way," was not the only way to embrace a tradition that they considered suitable in the present times. In fact, several Aborigines I had conversations with tried to dissociate themselves from the imposed concept of the "virtuous Aborigine" under the framework of the government's multiculturalism; a figure fluent in native languages and knowledgeable about traditional knowledge is qualified to be an Aborigine.[2] Despite such difference of opinions, Aborigines tend to relate to the same emotional struggle. Those who reject the notion of the "virtuous Aborigine" considered that those who accepted it as having had little choice but to adopt the characterization in an effort to claim their recognition in an environment

[2] I use terms such as Aboriginal, indigenous, and Indigenous throughout this dissertation. As manifested in various Taiwanese cultural discourses, I use the word "Aboriginal" to refer to the people (and their experience) in Taiwan who claim to be the first people of the place. My use of "indigenous" refers to a general global indigenous body.

of racial inequality. Many musicians have dedicated themselves to the revitalization of their native language, cosmology, and the environment of a local village. Also, with the new socio-political atmosphere in the post-martial law era,[3] the government and Aboriginal actors have increasingly engaged in the negotiation of "traditions" by reintroducing music-cultural aspects from the past, but adapt to new circumstances. "Aboriginal music" formulated under the banner of revival reveals the Aborigines' constant resistance to, cooperation with, and the recognition of a mainstream culture that is dominant in contemporary Taiwan.

Music revival is important because music is the core that unpacks the broader revival of Aboriginal languages, identity, belief, traditional knowledge, and ontologies. Identifying certain aspects of music as "traditional" or something from the past, music revival is also essential in initiating and strengthening certain values, characteristics, and reifying ideologies. Taiwan's Aborigines present an ideal case for studying music revival in many ways. First, the fear of losing the uniqueness of their practices, or the resistance of being increasingly assimilated by dominant cultures (Han/Japanese/Western), is a major concern among Aboriginal activists and revivalists. For example, many artists and intellectuals have distinguished collections of "uncontaminated traditions" from those with "outside" influences. As will be discussed, the collections of Aboriginal music from early academic and commercial recordings have become a ground for music revival, as they focus on historically informed performance practice and authenticity (Hill and Bithell, 2014:19).

A series of narratives and ethnographies by Aborigines emphasize singing as the ontological experience of Aboriginal ancient practice. Until the recent emergence of texts

[3] Martial law was imposed in 1949 by Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Nationalist Government, and ended in 1987.

that aim at teaching Aborigines how to read and write, Aboriginal languages circulate almost exclusively oral transmission, thus making singing a significant mode of expression for Aboriginal communities. Aboriginal intellectual Sun Da-Chuan (2000) argues that Aborigines constitute an ethnic group that uses singing, instead of writing, to express their oral histories and memories. Camak Valaule, the director of the Taiwu Ancient Ballads Troupe, points out that Aboriginal Paiwan people like to sing, thus their traditional songs instantiate the historical myths, their social organization as a traditional society, and traditional culture.[4] Ethnographies of singing in Aboriginal communities have involved long-term explorations of specific communicative practices such as ritual songs and ceremonial musical activities (Mulu, 2010), illustrating the important relationship between musical activities, identity, and specific ideologies. Thus, Aboriginal cultural insiders have considered singing and related music-making the core in stimulating Aboriginal cultural revival.

Second, Aboriginal practitioners may strategically link their music to the past based on practical considerations, cultural choices, and contextual limitations. As many Aborigines have suffered relocation and historical discontinuities in the transmission of their customs, numerous Aboriginal revival movements have become a crucial way to reconstruct their subjectivity. For instance, the Aboriginal Sakizaya ethnic group, which had been categorized with the Amis group since the Japanese colonial period, was recognized in 2007 by the state as the thirteenth official Aboriginal group in Taiwan after their Name Rectification Campaign. The Sakizaya, as historically encompassed "within" Amis, are often ambivalent: on the one hand, wanting to emphasize their differences from

[4] "The Slope Suffused with Alternation of Summer and Fall" (斜坡上的夏末秋初). August 18, 2018. Taiwan Traditional Theatre Center, Taipei.

the Amis to justify their campaign, but, on the other hand, but not wanting to overemphasize their differences lest they damage their strong relationship with the Amis people (Huang, 2013: 68). Thus, while the Sakizaya need the revival movement of their "tradition" to reconstruct their subjectivity, such a revival movement becomes a crucial site that involves the intricate reconciliation of customary and innovative practices, as well as a process of negotiation among community members. Since then, several Aboriginal groups were officially recognized by the state: the Sediq, the Hla'alua, and the Kanakanavu. These groups inevitably encounter the similar demand to experience a revival movement in order to claim their unique subjectivity within the framework of the nation state. Music, therefore, becomes an important arena to reformulate "what has traditionally been seen as a situation of lack and loss into a new cultural space with considerable creative and recuperative potential" (Balme, 2007: 216).

Third, the globalization of music has resulted in the redefinition of aesthetic criteria and the potential loss of traditional knowledge (Weintraub, 2009: 4). As Taiwan's Aborigines began to see themselves as belonging to a wider "globalized" indigenous community (Niezen, 2003),[5] their discursive and performative efforts at revival can be regarded as an ongoing dialogue between the local practitioners and the outside world, especially for the ethnic group-based revival movements that seek recognition. Different social actors within both the Taiwanese public sphere and the realm of Aboriginal musical production claim ownership of Aboriginal songs, instruments, and music-cultural practices for a variety of reasons ranging from those who deem them as a symbol of ethnic cultural heritage to those who embrace them as a manifestation of a cosmopolitan and multicultural society. It is therefore more productive to conceptualize the music-

[5] This can be witnessed by the emerging activities featuring collaboration and exchanges between Aborigines and other indigenous peoples around the world, such as Global Indigenous Peoples Performing Arts Festival, Pulima Art Festival.

cultural revival as a multiplicity of cultural repertoires, which can be both habitual and conscious, as being imposed or naturalized as taken-for granted traditions.

RESEARCH PURPOSE

Interrogating how music becomes the area where Aboriginal actors navigate "cultural tradition" through acts of revival, this dissertation focuses on two essential musical forms related to the phenomenon of the Aboriginal music revival: the first is the heritage-making process emanating from the musical practices of the *lalingedan* (nose flutes) and the *pakulalu* (mouth flutes) of the Aboriginal Paiwan group. These instruments have been officially registered by the Taiwan government's Ministry of Culture in its official catalog National Important Traditional Arts, in 2011; the second is the growing movement of Aboriginal mother tongue songwriting that has participated in a wider revalorization of the "local" in Taiwanese economy of Aboriginal performance. It is known that the heritage of Taiwanese Aborigines has become an essential part of the new narrative of Taiwanese national identity. More importantly, the revival of Aboriginal music and singing has been tied to a new cultural production of musical practices and texts that promotes ethnic solidarity. These musical practices and texts surrounding the music revival, therefore, have become a contested sphere that is tied to the idea of new musical tradition and community in relation to the national imagination, thus becoming a tool to claim official recognition.

The government's intervention and the forces of globalization have resulted in contemporary transformations of musical practices. The impact of the government's intervention in the case of Aboriginal music revival is evident in the colonial legacy of inequality, as well as the role of scholars and public folklorists as agents of revival. While

it is clear that the government's intervention has both guided and restricted the agency of music practitioners, scholars advocating for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage have increasingly paid attention to the ways that practitioners negotiate with the nation state's ideology. Their strategies and acts reveal how particular forms of oral narrative, discourse, practice, and musical elements are selected, adapted, and legitimized as "traditional/authentic" in relation to ever-developing aesthetics and the state's ideology.

As such, the main theme of my research is central to formulating the ways in which music contributes to broader debates in revivalism that have been portrayed by scholars in ethnomusicology, anthropology, and indigenous studies, including, but not limited, to research areas and issues such as the making of intangible cultural heritage, song/language revitalization, folklorization, and institutionalization. This study also reveals an alternative scene of Taiwan's musical culture existent among Aborigines that contrasts with Taiwan's Han traditional musics (Hoklo and Hakka) and Chinese court/traditional/folk/pop musics that constitute mainstream academic studies in East Asian ethnomusicology.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Approaches to Music Revival

Revival movements are quintessential ways to reclaim the subjectivity of a particular group of people, especially for indigenous peoples who encounter the endangerment of their cultures. Ethnomusicologists, folklorists, and anthropologists have primarily used the term "revival" to refer to "a conscious resuscitation of traditional practices and values that are perceived and claimed to be endangered" (Hsu, 2014:12).

Anthropologist Anthony Wallace (1956) proposed a seminal theory of revitalization movements, of which he considered revival movements to be one subset. He characterized revitalization movements as "deliberate, conscious, organized efforts by members of a society to create a more satisfying culture" (1956:279). Ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman views revival as "an overt and explicit act of authentication" that "relies heavily on new symbols masquerading as the old" (1988:130-31). The term revival, according to Hill and Bithell, generally refers to processes that share "a fundamental motivation to draw upon the past and/or to intensify some aspect of the present" (2014). While the term clearly implies a sense of "past" and "old," how these ideas have been implemented and articulated in revival movements needs a more nuanced analysis.

Revivalists are not simply concerned with "the music itself," but also—or even more—with "the projected values and partly imagined lifestyles they associate with it" (Hill and Bithell, 2014:14). In this regard, how is the revived music interpreted, transmitted, and promoted? The revival of Aboriginal music has imbued certain values to a variety of objects and texts, such as publications, media products, tourist commodities, and instruments, through processes of transmission, dissemination, creation, and reception. These processes are fundamental not only in the production of new musical styles and repertoires but also in the redefining of values and performative practices. Individual artists and craftsmen, likewise, become "agents for conservation and revival, teaching and performance" (Howard, 2014:136-37). These values are constructed and imbued not only by those who produce and perform them but also by those who interpret and circulate them. In this view, local advocates, scholars, and audiences are essential actors in these revival processes.

Furthermore, ethnomusicologist Tamara Livingston proposed six "basic ingredients" in thinking of revivals (1999:69):

1. an individual or small group of "core revivalists"
2. revival informants and/or original sources (e.g. historical sound recordings)
3. a revivalist ideology and discourse
4. a group of followers which form the basis of a revivalist community
5. revivalist activities (organizations, festivals, competitions)
6. non-profit and/or commercial enterprises catering to the revivalist market.

Along a similar line, scholars have recently conceptualized music revival in more nuanced ways that extend our enquiries to the various roles of music in revivalist activities. The case studies covered in *The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival* address six themes of music revivals as Hill and Bithell summarized:

1. the revivals motivated by dissatisfaction with some aspect of the present and desire to effect some sort of cultural change
2. the revivals identified musical elements and practices as old, historical, or traditional, and determining their value, often involves selecting from or reinterpreting history
3. processes of de-contextualization and re-contextualization
4. the revivals necessitated the establishing of legitimacy, in order to persuade others to accept the musical and cultural changes being promoted and to allow the appropriating group to be perceived as legitimate culture-bearers
5. new methods and infrastructures for transmitting, promoting, and disseminating the revived music, which may involve festivals, competitions, educational institutions, organizations, government policies, recording and distribution companies
6. the establishment of new subcultures and affinity groups or may become part of mainstream culture.

Overall, the above-mentioned scholars all emphasize a key aspect of music revivals; it is a form of cultural production that links “traditional” materials to social, cultural, and political circumstances. Such cultural production also involves re-creation of musical cultures, in which particular practitioners proposed the imagining of an authentic practice (Li, 2015).

These themes resonate with numerous aspects of Taiwan’s Aboriginal music revival. In the case of Taiwan’s Aborigines, these revival efforts range from national

awards and song competitions, publications and pedagogical methods by intellectuals and educators, to festivals and music institutions. On the one hand, the government spends a visible portion of funding each year supporting Aboriginal artists and music groups—from funding National Important Traditional Arts projects to activities that promote Aboriginal cultural forms. On the other hand, a group of Aboriginal artists and activists have launched non-government funded grassroots events or music festivals,[6] claiming their rights and controls over their cultural heritage, land, and development. Taiwan's Aboriginal music revival, broadly speaking, is an organized social movement in which most of Aboriginal practitioners and revivalists are not independent of each other and are consciously aware of each other.

Music revivals are constituted on multiple levels—discursive, performative, and institutional. In particular, the themes above provide the potential to better analyze the ways in which Aborigines have made discursive and performative efforts to negotiate the idea and practice surrounding their music. It can be regarded as a social movement in which Aborigines try to raise their social, political, and religious statuses against the dominant Han culture. As such, the concept of revival is also useful in examining the ideologies, interventions, and discourses made by scholars, intellectuals, and in the publication of government agencies such as Bureau of Cultural Heritage and Council of Indigenous Peoples. As Livingston argues, revivals are a product of musical modernity brought about by the work of particular revivalist musicians or intellectuals, the institutionalization of a particular tradition, and supported by an ideology that can serve the building of "imagined communities" and resist hegemonic cultural trends (1999: 68).

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[6] For example, Amis Music Festival (阿米斯音樂節) and Singing for Taiwan Festival (為土地唱歌音樂祭) are the two most important Aboriginal independent music festivals in Taitung. More details, see http://www.johnsuming.com/2014amis/ and http://singfortaiwan.shoplineapp.com/.

However, this thread of scholarship on music revival is mostly concerned with various revival agents and their ideological potentials. More recent literature combines multi-sited research (Madrid and Moore, 2013; Li, 2015) and expands observation to include multiple dimensions of music in the processes of revival. Madrid and Moore (2013) address how danzón's particular pleasure *canchondería* is closely intertwined with appropriate dancing codes and in turn informs the Mexican danzón revival. Norton, in his study on Vietnamese *ca trù*, argues for a need to conceive it as ontologies rather than a fixed and unitary genre, in order to better understand what elements of *ca trù* have affected the reconstruction of it (2014). Resonating with this trend, I link the study of Aboriginal music revival to recent literature related to affect, critical organology, craftsmanship, voice, and language revitalization. Through a close examination of affective (Chapter Three), material (Chapter Four), and vocal (Chapter Five) dimensions of Aboriginal Paiwan music, this study aims to provide an alternative mode to reexamine the naturalized connections to the ancient past occurred in music revival.

Relevant Themes of Revival Scholarship

Counter-Hegemonic Nature

The music-cultural revival act is fundamental not only in the reproduction of cultural repertoire but also in the creation of new values to assert themselves in relation to existing social inequality. A body of literature focusing on revivals sheds a new light on the formation and processes defining indigenous musical traditions, and vice versa. Some scholars argue that the theme of the declining indigenous culture under the pressure of colonialism was common in scholarly writings about music; it was often coupled with the idea of a nationalist-generated cultural revival (Turino, 2000:34). Such kind of post-colonial revival entails a Herderian romantic nationalism in which revivalists often depict

particular musical forms (more precisely, "folk music") as the soul of a nation and trigger for them a series of collection and promotion projects. Second, some revival movements are grounded in the ideologies of nativism, purism, or traditionalism. Faudree, in her analysis concerning the indigenous Mazatec in Southern Mexico, argues that revival projects by definition are counter-hegemonic and by disposition are ethnically purist; nativism and revival are two sides of the same coin (2013).

Continuity of Tradition and Innovation

A key focus of this dissertation is to dismantle taken-for-granted notions of tradition. Raymond Williams's *Keywords* precisely points out the selective and multivalent nature of the notion of "tradition," as we consider how much has been handed down to us, and how varied the meaning of "tradition" actually is (Williams, 2015:252). He argues that the term tradition must not be reduced to activities of an "ideological state apparatus" (1977:118), and much of the most influential work of the counter-hegemony is historical: "the recovery of discarded areas, or the redress of selective and reductive interpretations" (ibid.:116). Additionally, the intellectual current of "invented tradition" has called for a framework to analyze and deconstruct the notion of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1992), as well as authenticity and continuity. As Hobsbawm and Ranger argue, "the peculiarity of 'invented' traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious" (Ibid.). Feintuch firmly critiques revivalists who "assert that they're bolstering a declining musical tradition" (1993: 184). But rather than encourage continuity, musical revivals recast the music—and culture—they are referring to through "its own standard repertoire and styles and its own selective view of the past" (ibid.). Bauman and Briggs went on to analyze the construction and ideologization of a conception of tradition that "has been subjected in the creation and maintenance of modernity" (2003:11).

If traditions are "invented" and selected and therefore can be used to suit different purposes and ideologies, the question becomes, what are these cultural processes? Without ethnographic studies on multi-layered processes and locally contingent practices that practitioners react to different forces, the concept of revival will proliferate endless invented traditions and overgeneralization. I argue that the rigid use of terms such as tradition and authenticity tends to neglect multivalent contemporary understandings of them and Aboriginal practitioners' agencies to incorporate Han and Japanese discourses. Aligning with this thread of scholarship, I use multiple descriptors of the term tradition to tease out the nuanced distinctions among notions of tradition. In this dissertation, I will use the term "practice" to refer to general activities that have been practiced among local Aborigines. I will use the term tradition without quotes to describe generalized traditions, through which I understand them as the interplay of sedimentation and innovation (Ricoeur, 1984:68–70). For example, some social norms related to the use of music are maintained at the local level despite their imposition by the outside world (see Chapter Two). The alternate use of "tradition" with quotes designates the contemporary practice of what is perceived as "traditional," and highlights the constructed and "invented" sense of the notion (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1992). Finally, I will use Tradition with capital "T" to describe the institutionalized practices within state heritage projects.

Revival projects normally involve a paradoxical tension between departure from the past and allegiance to it (Faudree, 2013:11). In reviving the past, people necessarily rely on innovative processes that "directly manipulate historical material, or that more loosely draw inspiration from imagined pasts" (Hill and Bithell, 2014:18). Significant in this are so-called "folk artists" or national designated artists who receive government recognitions. For instance, the national preservation and transmission project of Aboriginal Paiwan flutes, instead of being a "museumized" preservation that emphasizes

the notion of "authenticity," inevitably encounters the task of maintaining a certain musical form or practice in relation to a particular individual and community in the present (see Chapter Four and Five). In short, the concept of revival offers a framework to examine "how the continuity of tradition and the generative potential of creativity" are negotiated within the preservation and transmission of music (Faudree, 2013:14), as well as how new methods and strategies are employed to revitalize certain musical practices.

Media, Festivals, Tourism

The revival of Aboriginal music in Taiwan has been strongly impacted by "the spread of new media and technologies, the emergence of the world music industry, and trends in heritage conservation and cultural tourism" (Hill and Bithell, 2014:25). Research on indigenous music has examined how recordings create aesthetic significance for indigenous peoples, and how it becomes "forms of social action" with regard to community building and cultural transmission through revivals (Diamond, 2005; Hilder, 2016). Also, learning materials for revival were made available in a variety of new media (Hill and Bithell, 2014:26). Artists or "cultural bearers" may devise new methods via a variety of new media to promote and showcase their musical tradition to a wider audience.

A number of recent Aboriginal musical festivals that have started out as grassroots initiatives have become part of this trend of revival, such as the Amis Music Festival and the Senasenai Music Festival (see Chapter Five). Newly composed songs in Aboriginal languages and music promoted and performed in a variety of the government-funded or non-government funded Aboriginal activities are more or less connected to the past or to Aboriginal practitioners' imagined tradition. The production of new forms of performance, style, and text play a vital role in linguistic and cultural revitalization.

Moreover, revival has placed folk songs and music on festival stages, juxtaposing elements from both local and popular styles. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, many musicians stressed that the boundary between so-called pop, art, and folk music has become increasingly blurred. The production of revival materials and the events allow me to see the ideologies of redefining folk/traditional/pop boundaries, as well as how musicians promote their interpretations of musical tradition in relation to national and international audiences.

Such an argument also raises important questions concerning the relationship between revival, heritage conservation, and cultural tourism. Christopher Tilley's case study of Wala Islanders draws a strong resemblance to the scene of Taiwan's Aborigines. He points out that a series of promotional activities (a total package) in Wala is conceived as "a vibrant revival of local *kastom* providing entertainment for tourists and increased local knowledge of traditional practices" (1997:78).[7] Like tourism and heritage production more particularly (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998:153), revival can produce not only community building and networks, but also "the local" for newcomers to hear and participate. Likewise, Livingston argues that the membership of revivalist communities may span local and national boundaries, and they often "bring together people whose paths might never have crossed outside of the revival" (1999:72). For example, participatory music workshops included in many festival programs or local institutions may develop new methods and materials to teach non-native learners, including tourists.

[7] Tilley further points out that peripheral peoples market themselves simply because "they have little else to sell and this is what the tourists have come to see," in which they "pretend to be pre-modern in order to continue to purchase their modernist identity spaces in a world of mass movement, mass production and mass consumption." As such, it draws strong resemblance to Aboriginal music and dance scene in Taiwan.

INDIGENEITY

Cultural anthropologists have asserted that nationhood and indigeneity are inseparable in the sense that indigeneity is "the main point of defense against the assimilation goals of nation-states" (Niezen, 2003:218). This notion of indigeneity also reflects the fact that the category of indigenous people is part of the national/colonial product; "the peoples who are now called indigenous or aboriginal would not be called (and treated) so if there had not been foreign invaders who both deprived them of their lands and destroyed their societies" (Versedio, 2009:556). While an important part of indigeneity is its co-existence with nation-states, I argue for a need to examine various confrontations between nation-states and Aborigines beyond the dichotomy of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic.

Central to this body of literature is the critique of a politics that proposes alternative ways of envisioning social justice. Scholars and indigenous activists have focused on how liberal forms of multiculturalism become a hegemonic form of domination in which official deployments of Aboriginal figures in discourses or cultural formations of indigeneity are mostly associated with the state's discourses of multiculturalism (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2009; Merlan, 2009). Anthropologist Charles Hale (2005) argues that the most counterintuitive outcome of the neoliberal multiculturalism in Central America is not the "domestication effect" of governance but the dominant culture's remaking of hierarchy that lets culture, rather than race itself, provide the rationale justifying a new form of racial hierarchy. A number of indigenous movements have also critiqued dominant notions of ownership, land and cultural rights, and the global forces of capitalism, articulating instead their connections with the land, cosmology, and insider knowledge in "their own terms" (Smith, 1999).

In Taiwan, the meanings of indigeneity remain largely associated with colonial history and national formation. The assimilation and homogenization resulting from colonialism—Han expansion, Japanese colonization, and KMT's (Chinese Nationalist Party) regime—contributed to the upsurge of Aboriginal cultural revival, and narratives of colonial history and legacies have become the means of mediating depictions and status of Aborigines (Brown, 2004; Chiu, 2009). After the KMT's authoritarian regime under the Martial Law, the ascendant democratization in Taiwan during the late 1980s marked a radical change over the Taiwanese discourses of Aboriginal and national identity. Emphasizing the diversity of historical experience and the island's Aboriginal population became a direct way to "overthrow the classical linear Chinese historiography that viewed Taiwan as a historical place only from the time of Han Chinese [had] begun settling [there]" (Corcuff, 2002:87). In this socio-political atmosphere, discourses of new Taiwanese identity have often celebrated multiethnic diversity and incorporated the narratives of the re-discovery of Aboriginal cultural heritage into the cultural formation of Taiwan as a nation distinct from the PRC. Both the KMT and the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party), and economic forces, attempt to valorize Aboriginal culture into useful political and economic capital. However, this kind of discourse remained blind to legacy of colonialism and their implications for the colonized.

As Aborigines fight to reassert their cultural identities, it is clear that they often hope to preserve societies and practices on their own terms, instead of contributing to the larger multicultural components of the nation. Since the very moment of colonization, Aborigines have absorbed the habits of the colonizers as they saw fit (see Chapter Two). Aborigines may be able to use various tactics to claim Aboriginality and distance their own condition from the Han under certain circumstances. Thus, the rise of Aboriginal

consciousness and the revival of Aboriginal music after democratization have to be examined in the light of these confrontations between the state and Aborigines.

The complicity of Aboriginal actors and multiculturalism in accepting the government's policies favoring multiculturalism may help us in rethinking the heterogeneity within the formation of indigeneity. The Aboriginal cultural revival, in this sense, is not merely a force based on counter-hegemonic indigenism or purism. Moreover, revival movements are a fruitful place to examine "how assertions of ethnic difference and their challenges to national belonging are worked out in practice" (Faudree, 2013:9). Thus, my research disentangles the complexities that involve tensions among Aboriginal elitists, traditionalists, populists, governmental institutions, and commercial industries. Instead of using musical nationalism as my main approach, I adopt the concept of "articulation" as the lens to tease out the complexities within Taiwan's Aboriginal music revival.

Articulation

Socio-cultural anthropology and cultural studies have adopted the metaphor of "articulation" to examine how previously disparate elements are conjoined into new socio-cultural formations through borrowing and reconfiguration (Hall, 1986; Tsing, 2007; Clifford, 2012).[8] In *Native Studies Keywords*, numerous scholars argue that viewing indigeneity as "in articulation" allows us to see the variety of experiences and praxis of indigenous peoples in a non-reductive way (Arvin, 2015:121; TallBear, 2015:133). In *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century*, James Clifford views indigeneity as "articulated" to recognize "the *diversity* of cultures and histories that currently make claims under this banner" (2012:54). His notion of articulation denotes

[8] The concept of articulation derives from "the articulated lorry, a cab and trailer that are hooked together but potentially unhooked and recombined with other cabs and trailers anew" (TallBear, 2015:133).

not merely the convergences or collisions in musical-cultural contact, but "a broad range of connections and disconnections—political, social, economic, and cultural" (ibid:45). Resonating with Charles Hale, Clifford's use of articulation does not entail a necessary assimilation or loss of social or cultural identity, but rather assert "an alliance of popular aspirations for recognition and autonomy with the agendas of state and transnational institutions" (2012:46). In this regard, Clifford suggests that "cultural forms will always be made, unmade, and remade" (2012:61-62), thereby the question is more about "what is borrowed from here or there, what is lost and rediscovered in new situations" (ibid:62-63). The idea of articulation offers a more productive way to approach "forms of power and conditions of maneuver" in relation to specific material and semiotic connections than the postulation of confrontations between hegemonic and counterhegemonic forces and/or between global and local cultural manifestations (ibid:46).

Ethnomusicologists have studied a variety of new performances indigenized by indigenous peoples and how and why these music-cultural changes are taking place (Babiracki, 1985; Seeger, 1991).[9] A more recent ethnomusicological interest in musical hybridization and their socio-political significance is heavily influenced by the theories in culture studies, adopting the concept of articulation as an analytical lens. Stuart Hall argues that ideologies do not consist of isolated and separate concepts, but in the articulation of different elements into a distinctive set or chain of meanings (1981a:31). It is evident that some Aboriginal musical practices weave together Aboriginal, Han, Japanese, and Christian influences, and many practitioners have participated in national preservation and transmission projects, grassroots initiatives, as well as capitalist

[9] Carol Babiracki (1993), for example, analyzes the ways in which Christian ritual music has been indigenized by Mundari converts in India, demonstrating the ways that Mundari Christians maintained its distinctiveness. Musical hybridity, she argues, reflects more than a "simple borrowing of foreign items, and assimilation does not seem to be an adequate explanation" (1993: 227).

economy.[10] Academic and institutional interventions such as funding projects and investigations of Aboriginal music and customs have emerged; these interventions have conditioned revivals and transformation of "traditions" in the present (see Chapter Three and Four). Drawing on the notion of articulation allows me to tease out the multifaceted nature of music beliefs and practices about "Aboriginal music"—processes of consensus, alliance, exclusion, and antagonism, as well as different ways Aboriginality has been articulated through music.

Performing Indigeneity

In this dissertation I consider Aboriginal music performance as a complex through which I describe cultural production: song and dance, storytelling, singing in Aboriginal language, and instrumental performance. On the one hand, performance reveals what aspects of the old were retained, and what creativity and development were allowed in revivals. On the other hand, indigenous studies scholars have adopted performance as a key notion to challenge identity essentialisms, as performance draws attention to what actors do instead of the subject existed before performance (Teves, 2015). In *Performing Indigeneity*, Graham and Penny (2014), borrowing the notion of utterance (in Bakhtin's term) to performance analysis,[11] emphasize the dialogic and context-centered approach to explore how the performances of indigeneity are embodied within specific historical constraints. This context-centered approach invites us to disentangle how different actors and individuals interact to shape indigeneity and respond to multiple motivations for

[10] https://www.nownews.com/news/20170718/2590311/. The Department of Indigenous Peoples in Pingtung County Government emphasized that they use the idea of "festival" to demonstrate the effort Aborigines have putted into the work of cultural revival.

[11] In Bakhtinian utterance, each new statement is one that contains echoes of past voices and opens up the possibility for future conversation and dialogue (Bakhtin 1981).

displaying indigenous culture in a certain way—such as economic interests, pedagogical objectives, and protection of unique knowledge and cultural heritage (ibid).

Along with this line, ethnomusicologists have regarded the performance of indigeneity as a strategy for negotiating and transformation (Bigenho, 2002; Tucker, 2011; Solomon, 2014), as well as an embodied nature of cultural transmission (Hilder, 2015). This thread of scholarship emphasizes the role of people's agency and performativity in shaping indigenous identities, and how forms of symbolic capital (e.g., music, language) take place in constituting indigeneity. Solomon (2014) analyzes the differences between *fiestas* and *festivales* in Bolivian Andes, exploring how some of the indigenous groups employ the constructedness of their identity during folkloric competitions in what he called "strategic auto-essentialism"—a self-conscious practice of strategic essentialism that draws on the symbolic capital that their indigeneity can yield. It provides an analytical lens to examine how practitioners embody certain music-cultural values and attitudes toward tradition through their performances.

LITERATURE REVIEW

"Aboriginal Music" in the Past

It is important to briefly consider the trajectory of scholarship on Aboriginal music in order to situate this dissertation within this body of literature. Most early literature on Aboriginal music written by Han scholars after World War II mainly followed the research model of Japanese scholarship during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945). The legacy of Japanese scholarship is often explicit in the application of musicological analysis (scales, intervals, textures, harmonies) in the literature on Aboriginal music among non-Aboriginal scholars. The Japanese colonial taxonomy of

instruments and "tribes" continued to influence research in the post-war era.[12] The uniqueness of each "tribe" (e.g., music of Amis tribe, Paiwan tribe) is stressed in various writings and collections during the 1970s and 80s. For instance, the France-trained Taiwanese scholar, Hsu Tsang-Houei, who is also considered the founder of Taiwan's ethnomusicology, launched an island-wide folksong collecting movement and published the first comprehensive book about Aboriginal music, *Taiwan Gaoshanzu Minyao* (Folksongs of Taiwan's Mountain Aborigines) in 1976, which continues to be regarded as the most authoritative source about Aboriginal music and included transcriptions of melody types, modal relationships and polyphonic constructs of physical sound. Likewise, the Japan-trained Han musicologist Lu Bin-Chuan conducted an island-wide investigation and collected hundreds of Aboriginal folksongs. In these early Han scholars' publications, Aboriginal folksongs were often classified into different styles according to ethnic groups, and instruments were classified based on Sachs-Hornbostel classification system.[13]

Such Han-centric academic constructs imply the ideology of retrieving the "authentic musical tradition." As will be discussed in Chapter Two, the Han scholarship characterized the musical uniqueness of each "tribe" as a static body of heritage. English sources about Formosan music, such as the descriptions in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music* (Vol.7) and *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Vol.25), are mostly comprised of English translations of Hsu Tsang-Houei's publications. The term

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[12] In 1966, Han musicologists Hsu Tsang-Houei and Shih Wei-Lang launched the first island-wide Folksong Collection Movement (*minge tsaiji yundon*, 民歌採集運動) in Taiwan, in which they collected almost one thousand Aboriginal folksongs from several tribes (e.g., Yami, Atayal, Bunun, Amis, Puyuma, Paiwan, Rukai).

[13] Kurosawa, in his survey in 1943, classified Aboriginal folksongs into seven categories (e.g., ceremonial, work, love, drinking, festival, shaman, and ballad). Most early literature by Han scholars (Shih, 1967; Lin, 1982; Hsu and Cheng, 1992) made similar categories, classifying songs based on musicological characteristics, taxonomy of tribe, and social functions.

"Aboriginal music" or "Formosan music" in those publications is characterized not so much as a specific style or genre, but a general category that includes the collection of classified songs and music performed by Aborigines.

Restudy

Taiwanese ethnomusicologist Wang Ying-Fen (2000:96) sums up the paradigm shift in Aboriginal music studies from text-centered musical analysis in the 1970s and 80s to the more context-centered approach (e.g., music as performance and its cultural and aesthetic implications) since the 1990s. With such a paradigm shift, a number of domestic scholars since then have shown how the early folksong collecting in Taiwan was deeply intertwined with nationalist connotations in which folklorists aimed to build a musical collection of "our own music" (Fan, 1994; Chen, 2012).[14] They critiqued that those early Han musicologists regarded folksongs as a legitimate source to construct the "authenticity" of Taiwanese music as well as to subsume ethnic differences into national modernity. Additionally, some scholars have attempted to conduct research based on non-tribal units, such as individual artists/groups, villages, particular institutions (e.g., church, school), and Pan-Aboriginal festivals. In contrast to the earlier emphasis on homogenized tribal uniqueness and musical characteristics, this new scholarly trend search instead for the musical diversity and heterogeneity within Aboriginal community.

Building upon the restudy of former non-Aboriginal scholarship (mostly Kurosawa and Hsu), recent scholarship has questioned the song classification system made by early scholars (Wang, 2008; Chen, 2012).[15] Some argue that the distinction between "folksong" and "pop song" has been ambiguous within Aboriginal intra-village

[14] The concept of "folksong" is derived from the German word "Volkslied," a term proposed by Johann Gottfried Herder in the 18th century.

[15] Bruno Nettl defines "restudy" as "the return, after elapsed time, to a particular venue in the field" (1992:390).

musical activities (Chen, 2013:146; Tan, 2013). Tan points out that *ladhiw*, a term that refers to an intra-village singing activity of the Amis people, has consistently integrated outside influences such as Mandarin or Japanese songs. This intertwining between singing as a social practice and outside influences challenges the assumed boundary between "traditional music" and "popular music." While ethnomusicologists (Bohlman, 2002) have asserted that the concept of folksong has become an essential part of academic or nationalistic constructions, the term "popular music" can also be regarded as a modern construction (Middleton and Manuel, 2015). Such critique opens up the possibility of addressing what have been designated as "tradition" and "modernity," revisiting the music with "outside" influences that was dismissed by former scholarship, as well as ethnic boundaries mediated by the embodiment and transmission of Aboriginal songs. While the external classification and its nationalist connotations have been increasingly discussed, their embodiment in contemporary society and how natives negotiate/co-op with such connotations require more nuanced examinations.

Hybridity, Mediation, Embodiment

A growing body of work engages pop and/or non-traditional musical forms in Aboriginal communities through a variety of issues, including cultural and musical hybridity (Tan, 2012; Chen, 2014; Huang, 2016), colonial influences and institutional interventions (Huang, 2009; Li, 2013), and the political and aesthetic dimensions of representation (Chen, 2014). These studies have shown that Aboriginal composition and media are crucial mediations of Aboriginal musical production and dissemination—from the so-called "songs of forest workers" (*linbange*, 林班歌) (Li, 2013), mountain songs (*shandi geyao*, 山地歌謠) in cassette tapes (Hunag, 2009; Chen, 2014), to LP records in the early postwar period (Tan, 2012; Chen, 2014). This body of literature also deals with

the dynamics of representation by examining how certain kinds of "ethnic marker" have been imitated and reproduced through new types of media, as well as how the transforming aspects of media reconfigure Aboriginal musical experiences.

These studies also indicate that these media and institutions fundamentally alter the nature of musical representations and interactions, and musicians' practices and ideologies have shifted towards active engagement with these institutions and media as spaces for music making. Discourses surrounding Aboriginal singing and music have often characterized such customary singing as more improvisational and participatory with non-lexical syllables such as "na-lu-wan-hai-yan" (Chen, 2012), in contrast to more fixed version that is characterized as modern or foreign (Western) with the influences of media and institution. For this reason, some discussed Aboriginal singing not with the aim of dichotomizing tradition and innovation but, rather, with the intention of understanding it as an embodied dimension or cultural capital in which Aborigines reconcile customary practices with innovation or non-traditional elements (Chen, 2007). As music revivals open up contestation over notions of tradition and innovation, my project aims to navigate how Aboriginal artists adopt views of past that emphasize their link to "tradition."

METHODOLOGY

My research is based on fieldwork I have undertaken in Taiwan since 2016, and in particular an extended period from September of 2016 to August of 2017. My fieldwork in Taiwan was composed of three major parts. First, I combined participant observation and open-ended interviews or conversations to explore the experiences of Aboriginal musicians, audiences, and event organizers and coordinators. Second, I

conducted in-depth interviews with representative government personnel, domestic scholars specializing in Aboriginal music, and Aboriginal artists. Third, I collected relevant historical archives, publications, investigation reports, audio-visual items, and survey data from libraries, archives, websites, individual collectors, government agents, and social media.

I made regular visit to Paiwan Piuma village in Pingtung County and became acquainted with national-designated Paiwan artist Gilegilau Paqalius and his four apprentices. I observed a number of meetings in which agents of Bureau of Cultural Heritage discussed issues of preservation and transmission of Paiwan flutes with practitioners, as well as attending a number of performances of transmission plans for National Important Traditional Arts. Despite the regional focus, my research involved traveling around the regions and several Paiwan local villages in Taiwan. Aboriginal festivals and community-based activities have been key to my research. At these events, I participated a number of workshops and seminars on Paiwan songwriting, Paiwan flutes, and Aboriginal arts and films; I attended musical, theatrical, and cultural performances; I attended local church activities and intra-village events such as *masalut* (harvest ceremony), as well as musicians' rehearsals (both formal and informal). In addition, I participated in conferences that provided insights into the latest concerns and debates about Aboriginal music.[16]

Second, I conducted interviews and had conversations with over 20 Aboriginal musicians, community members, and scholars (included foreign, domestic, and Paiwanese), with comparative materials from several Paiwan communities. All interviews were conducted in Chinese and later translated into English by me as they

[16] These conferences included 2017 SEM Pre-conference Symposium on Indigenous music and dance, symposiums in 2016 and 2017 Pulima Art Festival.

were used in this dissertation. Situating the music in relation to individuals, families, communities, the state, and a variety of audiences, the conversations and interviews have provided a productive arena for the recounting of how music has been used for the formation of national cultural property, as well as the dynamics between Aboriginal musicians, the state's cultural policy, and music market. My interlocutors also provided me invaluable information about their recent revival efforts to claim a sense of control of their own musical practice and heritage. Also, musical participation has provided me invaluable insights into local musical knowledge and practice. I have studied the Paiwan nose flute and Paiwan folksongs with Gilegilau Paqalius, and practiced with his apprentices. I have also participated in several musical projects during fieldwork; I occasionally performed bamboo flutes and the nose flute with a few Aboriginal artists; I participated in a community-based collection project of Paiwan folk songs, during which I transcribed the recordings made by domestic scholars and Paiwan members. I have also offered to make transcriptions available to my interlocutors and make revisions where participants have wished to make.

Third, I consulted data and sources from various social spaces, such as library, archive, the Internet, and fieldwork. As mentioned above, books, recordings, and transcriptions are essential objects that catalyze music-cultural revival movements. These materials and data enable me to explore issues including individual engagement with past musical practices and innovation, the contestation over authenticity within the heritage-making process of Paiwan flutes, and music's roles in the revitalization of local language and older genres. In addition, I have increasingly taken virtual fieldwork via social media, and have consulted with contacts by phone, email, and messengers. Many practitioners have adopted digital medias and communication technologies to assist in cultural revivals, transmission, and advertising. These sites offer valuable perspectives on how

those members communicate and comment on news, articles, and videos relating to Aboriginal music.

Ethical Issues

As a non-Aboriginal researcher, studying Aboriginal music raises several issues of ethics. It is important to acknowledge my motivation underpinning my approach. I have constantly pondered what my role as a non-Aboriginal researcher can play in reporting about Aborigines who are trying to define their practice. Scholars have pointed out that ethnography is not about whether ethnographers can represent people or their practices better, as they cannot represent the whole truth (Clifford, 1986). Relying on a small number of interlocutors, Tucker's study on Peruvian Andean indigeneity suggests that, "a close working relationship [with a small number of interlocutors] allows a researcher an extraordinary opportunity to consult, debate, follow up, develop ideas across months and years of acquaintance" (2019: 29-30). Along the same line, my acquaintance with my Aboriginal interlocutors enables me to consult and address their concerns, the obstacles they have faced, and some of what matters in Aboriginal discussion of how to revitalize their musical practices. As the process of heritage-making or revival often involves a range of actors such as community members, individual artists, government agents, reviewers and promoters, this dissertation is conceived to trace the dynamics and processes of revival—the heritage-making process of Paiwan flutes (Chapter Three) and document practitioners' concerns and methods of transmission (Chapter Four)—through the experiences of my interlocutors and their peers, rather than seek validation for attempts to speak for Aboriginal self-determination.

During the course of my fieldwork it also became evident that what my Aboriginal interlocutors have mostly concerned is to ensure the next generation has their

songs and music to sing and play, as well as getting more people to learn and respect their music. As I acknowledged my ethnomusicological training and represented myself as a researcher and a flautist, I shared my view with my interlocutors. While I am grateful to receiving both hospitality and knowledge from my interlocutors, I have return favors through transcribing and sharing with them some historical sources and recordings that they have not seen before and considered useful.

My experience of learning the nose flute drew my attention to the issues of cultural rights and ownership. I notice that some particular musical practices and craftsmanship are restricted to the Paiwan people or even a handful of hereditary family members. I am also aware of the fact that the nose flute I am learning has social significance to the Paiwan community. One of my interlocutors told me that some non-Aboriginal players today labeled themselves as "nose flute players" in public, but he doubted that if those "players" have done research on the musical tradition. While I have attempted to eschew from the act of cultural appropriation, it became evident that some particular insider knowledge, repertoires, and practices claimed to be the heritage of particular families were less accessible to me (Chapter Six). Nevertheless, such concern and opinions among the Paiwan people still helped me to observe and explain why people have those concerns within the context of revitalization, and enabled me to be aware of issues of cultural rights and ownership in relation to the current legal protection.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The next chapter sketches different configurations of Taiwan's Aborigines during various historical periods, as well as how the formation of "Aboriginal music" contributed to a two-fold racialization process: One the one hand, Aborigines become a

racialized entity, and on the other hand, each "tribe" is attached with a fixed and distinctive cultural essence. I then trace the trajectory of the contemporary concepts and practices of Aboriginal music for the purpose of locating the Aboriginal music revival, in particular with *senai* (literally, song/singing) of the Paiwan. Comparing the categories employed in prior literature with the Paiwan musical experience, I articulate the interaction between Paiwan musicking activities, identity, and traditionality, demonstrating how the Paiwan people inhabited the norms they inherited and how those norms gave rise to principles that continue to shape the Paiwan aesthetic today.

Chapter Three focuses on the institutionalization of the Paiwan nose flutes (*lalingedan*) and mouth flutes (*pakulalu*) since the 1990s. Understanding the process of institutionalization as an "ideological prerequisites," this chapter focuses on how the large-scale music investigations conducted by anthropologists and ethnomusicologists, media publications, and related promotional activities in the 1990s forcefully tied the Paiwan flutes, mythologies, and associated aesthetic experience together. I argue that these scholarly investigations and publications not only systematized various Paiwan flutes and brought these flutes to public attention, but also played a significant role in reinforcing the impression of these instruments as a symbol of Paiwan art and making connections between musical sound, affect, and the Paiwan group with particular cultural references. Also, they promoted certain affective and aesthetic values as a core symbol of the Paiwan group, and encouraged potential practitioners to return to what they had proposed as "traditions."

Chapter Four examines the ways in which the Paiwan flautists have been keen to revive the musical practice through their dual roles: instrument-makers and players. I begin with outlining the context of the transmission of Paiwan flutes in relation to the formation of Taiwan's system of intangible cultural heritage. Drawing on the emerging

ethnomusicological literature on critical organology (Dawe, 2003; Bates, 2012; Roda, 2015) and craftsmanship (Sennett, 2008; Jakovljevic, 2012; Tucker, 2016), I consider instruments as a nexus that entangles ontological components of the musical practices—material knowledge, craftsmanship, aesthetic, techniques—that the practitioners deem constitutive of the ideas of Paiwan-ness in the contemporary transmission. Further, I explore some of the local practices of transmission that happen on the ground, discuss how the craftsmanship of flute-making and playing become institutionalized, and demonstrate how practitioners negotiate with the government mandate of preservation.

In Chapter Five I interrogate the role of music in indigenous language revitalization within Aboriginal music festivals. While the proliferation of mother-tongue songwriting is often associated with branding strategies and globally circulated pop music to stimulate demand in the transnational music market, the traditionalist discourses often highlight the role of new songs in reviving older styles and the languages in which they were performed. I contend that the government-funded musical competitions, with competing groups established according to language, often iconicizes the languages of ethnolinguistic groups as symbolic tokens. My analysis of the Senasenai Music Festival interrogates the ways in which performances of Paiwan songwriting and language advocates have favored distinctive references to metaphorical expressions and voice to articulate an "ideal" of Paiwan songs in an effort to revitalize the language and increase its popularity. It argues that mother-tongue songwriting becomes a creative and performative space for Paiwan musicians to actively rearticulate a connection between the music and their heritage language.

Chapter 2: Representing Sound, Building Boundaries: From the Historical Construction to Contemporary Concepts of Aboriginal Music

On December 22nd, 2018, the musical "Miling'an: Funeral in the Slate House" was performed at the Taiwan Traditional Theatre Center and sponsored by the National Center of Traditional Arts. As the last show of "The 2018 Series of Authentic Ethnic Music in Taiwan," the performance featured the Paiwan songs and rituals combined with contemporary musical theater and dance. In the opening number, the light comes up to reveal eight performers, including the Bunun pop singer-songwriter Biung Wang, casually sitting, chatting, and singing around a drinking table. The performers start to sing and clap, emulating a typical Aboriginal intra-village singing session on the stage. Then, the performance suddenly turns to the Paiwan repertoires that are often labeled as "traditional,"[17] *featuring the Paiwan singer Resres Ljivuljivuan, the principal vocalist of this performance, along with a team of singers, instrumentalists, and dancers. They perform carefully choreographed, staged versions of Paiwan folksongs.*

Toward the end of the night, the artistic director of this performance, Hu Chien, came onstage and discussed his ideas and the process of organizing this performance. What struck me was that he also mentioned his non-Aboriginal bloodline and how his Paiwan identity has emerged since his adoption by a Paiwan family. It came as a surprise to me that over half of the performers are actually non-Paiwan (mostly Han), but they all emphasized their willingness and intention to learn, perform, and pass down Aboriginal songs and culture. Hu also addressed the long-marginalized social position of Aborigines in Taiwan and expressed hope that everyone would respect and pay more attention to Aboriginal culture regardless of their ethnicity. In a performance featuring

[17] These repertoires include "Lumi," "Dagalaus," "Laisu," "Cukunu," "Iyai," "Lulimai," "La La Yi," "Yilaisats," "Culisi," "Naruwan," "Puliya," "Lemayucez," "Dalubaling," and "Naruwan."

"authentic ethnic music," such a statement makes me wonder, what makes these performers "Aboriginal?" Is it their performance of Paiwan songs? Does that involve something more than songs per se*, such as the process of learning, singing, and dancing with those Aboriginal members?*

During my fieldwork in Taiwan from 2016 to 2018, I often asked my interlocutors how they define "Aboriginal music." Most of them indicated that it is the music of Aborigines. Then, I asked how they define Aborigines. They often told me that Aborigines are those who have a blood relationship with an Aborigine, or those who speak any of the Aboriginal (Formosan) languages. In fact, many of them performed various types of music and songs they could, regardless of their racial or regional identities. However, their responses emphasized biological kinship in the definition of Aboriginality. This emphasis on biological kinship resonates with the current definition of Aborigines in Taiwan's Status Act for Indigenous Peoples (原住民身份法), drafted by the Council of Indigenous People, a ministry-level institute in Taiwan's government. On the other hand, the emphasis on language in the definition of Aboriginality is partly because an increasing number of young people cannot speak or understand Aboriginal languages. The argument over who has retained the "truer" Aboriginal identity today revolves around not only biological heredity, but also cultural capital such as language skills and singing.

BUILDING BOUNDARIES

While contemporary scholarship has highlighted the constructive nature of racial formation, all these symbols, images, and languages become increasingly essential in

defining racial lines and the claims of heritage. In many cases, we have witnessed the prevalence of political discourses that rationalize "cultural differences" and racial categorization. Previous scholarship has identified the deployment of symbols, languages, and images in the process of racialization. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, in their analysis on the political context in the post-Civil Right-era United States, have argued that racialization is a "racial project" that is "simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources among particular racial lines" (1994:56). In this sense, "race" is not simply a system of ideological classifications that construct "differences"; it is also a social structure that involves political projects that organize and distribute resources along different classes and ethnic groups (ibid; Lan, 2006).

In the context of Taiwan's national cultural production, Aboriginal groups become the major target of racialization. Historically, writings on Aborigines have been mainly undertaken by non-Aboriginal explorers, missionaries, scholars, government officials, even tourists. The contemporary racial and ethnic landscape in Taiwan actually contains fluid boundaries subject to racial projects and historical reconfiguration (Lan, 2006:61). By analyzing historical narratives, from Chinese official documents, Westerners' accounts, and Japanese colonization, to academic construct in the post-war era, this chapter starts with examining the formation of "Aborigines" and its relation to the construction of "Aboriginal music." The representation of Aborigines and their music in these historical documents contributed greatly to the formation of racialized differences, as well as the ways in which later song collectors and scholars selectively determined the criteria for "authenticity."

In addition to heightening the racial distinction between Han and Aborigines, the process of racialization also accommodates different ethnic groups or distinguishes them

from the rulers and their cultural group at the center (Harrell, 2001:20). In this regard, I argue that the racist narratives that otherized Aborigines as a racialized collectivity also contribute to the ethnicization of each Aboriginal group. As I will demonstrate in my analysis of Paiwan music in this chapter, the discursive construction of Aborigines suggested a racialized other in which each Aboriginal group (or "tribe" in Japanese colonial term) is associated with a distinctive cultural essence with clear-cut ethnic boundaries. Unsurprisingly, the "Paiwan-ness" in music is imposed through scholarly works, governmental policies, and media depictions in a top-down manner. But this process constantly involves the interplay between two analytically distinct processes of ascribing ethnicity: group identification and social categorization (Jenkins, 2008:38). It is the interplay between "how we have been represented," and "how that bears on how we represent ourselves" (Hall, 1996). The question remained, how do Paiwan practitioners absorb the marked distinctiveness?

Ethnomusicologists have broadly discussed how music serves as a symbolic boundary system that articulates ethnicity with other social differences (Stokes, 2017). Helen Rees argues that minorities can pursue many of their traditional music types, which has itself seen the value of utilizing and adapting such music for purposes of political and economic persuasion (Rees, 2000: 194). These phenomena demonstrate that the stratified structure of racial and ethnic hierarchy is also closely intertwined with socio-economic class. Echoing John and Jean Comaroff's (2009) notion of commoditized ethnicity in the context of neoliberal capitalism, I consider the ethnicity in music "*not* as analytic constructs but as *concrete abstractions"* variously deployed by human beings to create the fusion of cultural and political-economic capitals.[18]

[18] Ethnicity is, in this sense, "both ascriptive and instrumental; both innate and constructed; both blood and choice" (John and Jean Comaroff, 2009:40).

My approach to musical practices of the Paiwan people follows their call to examine how the discourses of race and ethnicity influence practitioners' relationships with musical work, claims of heritage, and representations. Most of the account that I develop over this dissertation pertains to the Paiwan people in southern Taiwan. The contemporary concepts and practices I observed continue to respond to the antecedent academic construction and racial formation. Thus, in the second part of this chapter, I provide a historical and geographic overview of the Paiwan communities, discussing the concepts and practices of the Paiwan music in particular, including its emic terminology and performance. This examination aims to demonstrate how the Paiwan people inhabited the norms they inherited and how those norms gave rise to principles that continue to shape the Paiwan aesthetic today.

MAPPING RACIALIZED BOUNDARIES: FROM "BARBARIAN," "SAVAGE," TO "MOUNTAIN PEOPLE"

Austronesian Origin

The majority population in Taiwan today is Han Chinese, descended from multiple waves of immigrants from Mainland China. About 550,000 people, or 2% of the population, are Aborigines, the descendants of Austronesian-speaking peoples.[19] Linguistic evidence reveals that Austronesian-speaking peoples comprise most or all of the indigenous populations of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Madagascar, and Austronesian languages are also found on Taiwan, the possible homeland of the first Austronesians (Bellwood, Fox, Tryon 2006:1).[20] They inhabited the island for thousands

[19] According to a population investigation by Taiwanese Ministry of Interior.

[20] According to linguists, Austronesian languages are spoken in some of the coastal areas of Papua New Guinea further to the east, and down the Melanesian chain of islands through the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu as far as New Caledonia and Fiji (ibid).

of years before the Han Chinese migration, and have spoken a range of Austronesian languages. The linguistic and ethnic origin of Taiwan's Aborigines has become an important arena for contemporary Aboriginal cultural revival to claim the legitimacy of Austronesian heritage.

Figure 2.1: Map of Expansion of Austronesian Languages[21]

Scholars have debated the specifics of the Austronesian language family's origin. A group of scholars who proposed the "southern origin" theory of Austronesian languages claims that the bearers of this language family came from Southeast Asia and moved northward to Taiwan and eastward into the Pacific (Stanton 1999:29). The other widely accepted view claims that Proto-Austronesian, the ancestral language in which all

[21]Source: https://www.smallislandbigsong.com/about.

other Austronesian languages are descended from, is thought to have emerged on the island of Taiwan around 5,000 years ago (Tryon 2006:23). They have further speculated that the descendants of Taiwan's Proto-Austronesian speakers are the ancestors of all Austronesian people outside Taiwan, considering the proto-language to have diverged into four subgroups, three of which are spoken on Taiwan: languages of Atayalic, Tsouic, and Paiwanic (Diamond, 2000:709). Within the contemporary political context, the contesting views between Taiwan-centered and Chinese-centered identities politicize discourses surrounding Aboriginal ancestry ties, inheritance, and historical experience (Stainton, 1999; Teng, 2004; Simon, 2009; Ku, 2012). Nowadays, both the local and the central government have accepted this Austronesian origin hypothesis and initiated related activities and festivals such as the "Festival of Austronesian Cultures" and "Festival of Pacific Arts." These views have transformed Taiwan Aborigines and their ancestry ties into strong signifiers of Taiwan as a Pacific island, possibly the homeland of the Austronesian language (Munsterhjelm, 2014).

Racialized "Other"

Prior to the formation of the contemporary racial category, Aborigines have long been the racialized "Other" in the ideologies of non-Aboriginal people. Curiosity about Taiwan's Aborigines by non-Aboriginal rulers gave way to discrimination and stereotypes of Aboriginal exoticism, a legacy that has continued to the present day. The earliest document about Aborigines can be traced back to the Chinese colonial travel writing and records by Chinese emperors, no earlier than the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368). The few important records are the report *An Account of Eastern Barbarians* by Chen Ti in 1603. During the 1600s to 1800s, Taiwan saw mass immigration from China, particularly by the Hoklo, who are the members of the Min (閩) people from southeastern

China, and the Hakka, who historically were regarded as the Yue (粵) people who immigrated from Guangdong province (Munsterhjelm, 2014). The Chinese record and travel writings from Ming and Qing court administration mostly focus on the description of Aboriginal custom, dwelling, and appearance. In these writings, Aborigines have always been stereotyped as dehumanized barbarians (*fan* 番) through depictions of them as violent headhunting, illiterate people living in miasmal swamps.[22] Along those lines, Yu Yung-Ho's (郁永河) *Observations on Aborigines of Taiwan* (1697) was the first to point out the difference between "civilized" and "wild barbarians." These differences later became the prototype of the distinction between mountain and plains Aborigines. Huang Shu-Ching's (黃叔儆) *Tai-hai Shih-ch'a Lu* (臺海使搓錄), written in 1724 and published in 1736, provides significant historical records of Aborigines' custom and music-related practices, including playing instruments, singing, and theater.[23] These earliest sources provide not only a valuable record of Aboriginal cultural practices at that time, but also the trajectory of the construction of racial Otherness from the Han's perspective.

One of the main Qing-era policies in administrating Aborigines was the establishment of *fanjie* (barbarian boundary 番界), a boundary that segregated Han Chinese and Aborigines (Figure 2.2). The rule of Qing classified natives into *shufan* ("cooked barbarians" 熟番)—those who adopted much of the Han Hoklo culture (immigrants from southeast China) and gradually became "sinicized," and *shengfan* ("raw barbarians" 生番)—those who were not controlled by the Qing. The classification laid an essential foundation of not only the division between plains Aborigines and

[22] It is worth noting that the word *fan* (番) or *yi* (夷) in Chinese normally refers to Other as opposed to Self. In Chinese records, Han also described the Dutch as "red-haired barbarians" (*hongmao fan* 紅毛番).
[23] *Tai-hai Shih-ch'a Lu* (臺海使搓錄) includes 8 volumes, and vol. 5 to 7 are about Aborigines.

Aboriginal Peoples in the contemporary era, but also the racial categories in which differences between Han Chinese and Taiwan's Aborigines have been continuously reinforced. As Emma Teng's book *Taiwan's Imaged Geography* (2004) demonstrates, the Qing administration did not widely regulate "wild barbarians" in the eastern mountainous area, and Chinese writers therefore described these areas as "undomesticated" or "uncivilized."

Figure 2.2: Barbarian boundary map (*fanjietu*) of *Qing* Taiwan. Note the red line in the middle.[24]

Westerners' Gaze

The Chinese name "Taiwan" and the Portuguese name "Formosa'" were in common use. Known as the first bid to colonize the island, the Dutch East India Company occupied the southwestern Taiwan in 1624. While the Dutch has taken the

[24] http://catalog.digitalarchives.tw/item/00/6d/08/cc.html, accessed June 29, 2017. The red line in map delineates the boundary between civilians (*min* 民) and barbarians (*fan* 番).

southern Taiwan, the Spanish garrison occupied Keelung in northern Taiwan in 1626. During both periods of the Dutch (1624-1662) and Spanish occupations (1626-1642), the historical records made by those Western colonizers provide a different perspective than that obtained from Chinese travel writings. Under Dutch colonization, Taiwan served as a transit hub of the commercial network in East Asia, particularly in their trade with China's Ming dynasty and Japan. It was also a hub for the environmental exploration and exploitation of natural resources by the Dutch East India Company.

The Dutch Christian missionaries in the Dutch occupation period (1624-1662) left an important record of Aborigines, "Account of the Inhabitant" (Thompson, 1964:164-65). Similar to many other histories of colonial encounter, the Dutch and Spanish regarded themselves as the Western "civilization" entering the land of the "wild" Formosans. This is reflected in the Dutch East India Company's historical record *The Diaries of Batavia*, in which they depicted the Aborigines of a village called Xiaolong (蕭壠) as "wild and barbaric" (*wilde ende barbarische menschen*).

Minoritized "Object": Early Scholarship

Takasagozoku: Japanese Colonization (1895-1945)

As is the experience of many indigenous people, Aborigines have a long history of being researched through the venture of "salvage ethnography." During Japanese colonization (1895-1945), the government implemented policies for regulating Aborigines known as *li fan* (savage regulations) policy. Due to this regulation policy, some Aboriginal customs, such as headhunting and facial tattooing, were forbidden. Public schools for "barbarians" and The Office of Educating Barbarian Children (*fantung jiaoyusuo* 番童教育所) were opened. This policy reflected the Japanese government's intention to transform "uncivilized barbarians" into civilized loyal imperial subjects.

From 1900 to 1925, the Japanese established the "Provisional Investigation Committee on Taiwan Traditional Manners and Customs" (*Rinji Taiwan Kyukan Chosakai,* 臨時臺灣舊慣調查會) to carry out a special census of old Taiwan customs. A great number of volumes and reports were compiled and published by that committee, including several on Han and Aboriginal customs. In an effort to regulate Aborigines more effectively, Japanese anthropologists carried out investigations of Aboriginal customs and cultures, classifying Aborigines into numerous "tribes" according to their languages, customs, and genealogy (Figure 2.3).[25] For administrative expediency and academic convenience, the Provisional Investigation Committee published *Report on the Survey of Barbarian Tribes* (番族調查報告書), which includes eight volumes that recorded the customs and culture of the nine Aboriginal "tribes." In the 1930s, Japanese official discourses began to call them "*takasagozoku*" (高砂族, mountain tribes) to replace the word "savage." The term *Takasago* was the old Japanese name for Taiwan, and the name *Takasagozoku* was later adopted by the Chinese KMT Party and changed to "mountain people" (高山族) to refer to Taiwan's Aborigines.

[25] The Japanese classification later divided Aborigines into nine tribes, which is most commonly used today: the Atayal, the Saisiat, the Bunun, the Tsou, the Rukai, the Paiwan, the Panapanayan (Puyuma), the Pangcah (Amis), and the Yami (Dawu).

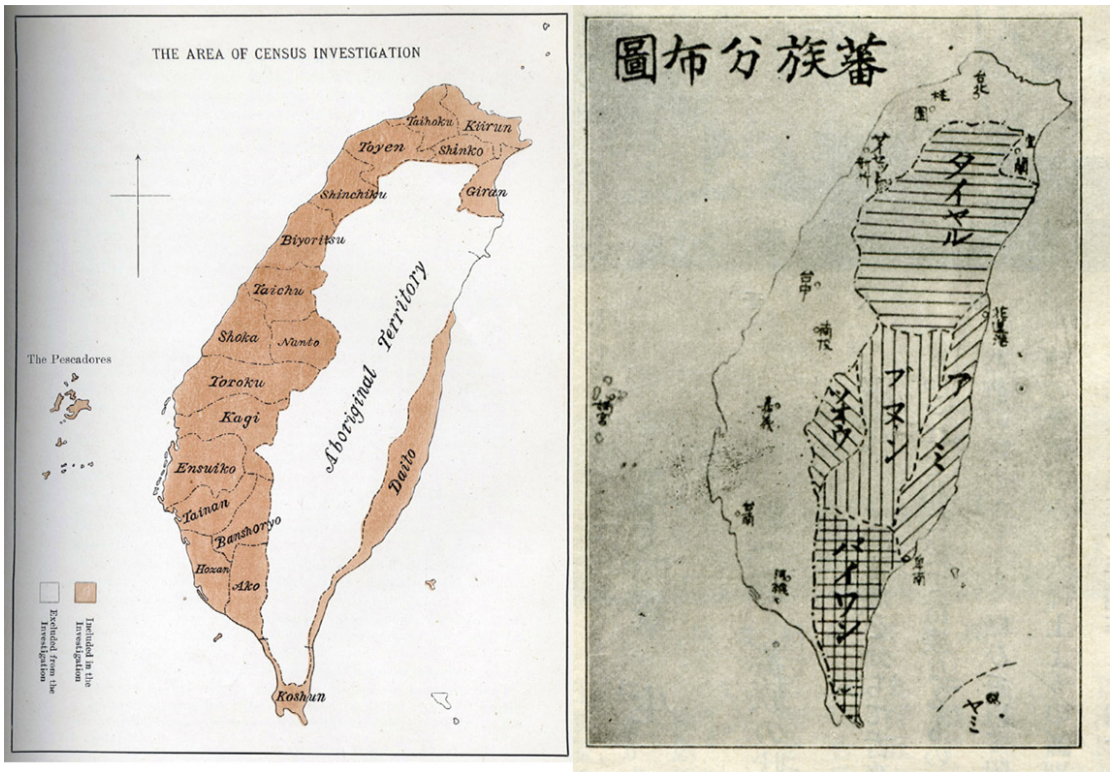

Figure 2.3 The Japanese census map, 1905 (left). Ethnic map of Taiwan showing the distribution of fan, 1912 (right). Note that each shaded polygon represents a *shuzoku* (race/tribe) in possession of a unique language, material culture, and corpus of myths and legends.[26]

Significant literature on Aboriginal music in the period includes the investigation records made by Japanese musicologists Tanabe Hisao (1922) and Kurusawa Takatomo during the war (1943). Kurosawa made the first important island-wide survey of Aboriginal music during the war (1943-1945), including a collection of 200 songs on 26 discs totaling 78 hours of recording time derived from his field research in 150 Aboriginal villages (Wang, 2008). These Japanese scholars mainly categorized Aboriginal songs and music based on social function; categories such as children's songs,

[26] Barclay, 2018:193.

wedding songs, or harvest songs are often seen in these records.[27] Kurosawa's publication *Taiwan Takasagozoku No Ongaku* ["Music of Mountain Peoples in Taiwan"] (1973) provides an extensive classification of Aboriginal musical instruments and folksong based on performance context and functions. In this book, he made extensive use of Western musical terminology to describe Aboriginal songs: homophonic songs, harmonic songs, and polyphonic songs. Also, Kurosawa emphasized the "purity" of the music he collected, as he noted in the preface:

> The Performances of the Savage became the economical resource and the traditional racial customs were now changed to the Attraction Show which enjoyed by the common people.
>
> In fact, among the Takasago Tribes, the most lowly cultured people the Vununs, those who live among the Central Mountains, and surrounding people also, do not recite any prayer in human language but with 'pure harmony.

Postwar Scholarship

The Chinese Nationalist Party (*Kuomintang* or KMT) succeeded the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan in 1945. Officials continued to apply the tribe taxonomy to categorize Aborigines into nine "tribes." Most early literature on Aboriginal music written by Han scholars after World War II followed the research model of Kurosawa Takatomo, who was considered one of the most authoritative scholars on Aboriginal music in the period due to his large collection of field recordings. Hsu Tsang-Houei (許常惠), who is considered the founding father of ethnomusicology in Taiwan, re-examined Kurosawa's collection and hypothesis. In his publications, Hsu often used the term *takazagozoku* to refer to Aborigines, as this term was created by early Japanese scholars

[27] According to Kurosawa Takatomo's survey on Formosan music in 1943, he categorized Taiwan's Aboriginal songs into seven categories: ceremonial, shaman, work, love, drinking, festival and ballad songs (Wang, 2008).

and has academic legitimacy.[28] Similar to Kurosawa's wartime survey, Hsu and Shih Wei-Liang (史惟亮) launched the first island-wide Folksong Collection Movement in Taiwan in 1966. This kind of collection movement resonates with the Herderian view of *volkslied*, which has been widely adopted by nationalist initiatives in many post-colonial societies. In this case, urban elites or intellectuals collected songs/music from rural and constructed "our music" in order to shift from "culturally backward," "pre-modern" to the "modern" nation-states.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Japan-trained musicologist Lu Bing-Chuan (呂炳川) conducted a survey of Aboriginal music and later published *The Musical Instruments of the Formosan Aborigines* (1974) and *Music of Formosan Aborigines* (1982). Lu's publications primarily focus on analysis of tone systems, musical forms, rhythm and melody types, and instrumental classification.[29] The church-trained scholar Loh I-To's (駱維道) dissertation at UCLA, "Tribal Music of Taiwan: With Special Reference to the Ami and Puyuma Styles" (1982) was the first major English-language dissertation on Taiwanese Aboriginal music. Loh's analyses are primarily based on the polyphonic singing of the Amis and Puyuma people through recordings in the UCLA archive, as well as his own field experience in the local Aboriginal churches.[30] These publications tend to emphasize purity and focus on musicological analysis (extensive transcriptions, modal/textural analysis) and social functions. This kind of description is clear to read in much of the early Han scholarship on Aboriginal music as following:

---

[28] Hsu's publications include *Taiwan Gaoshanzu Minyao* [Folksongs of Taiwan's Mountain Peoples] (1976) and *Minzhu Yinyue Lunshugao* [Ethnomusicological Essays] between 1987 and 1992.

[29] It is worth noting that these publications mainly adopted the Hornbostel-Sachs system of instrumental classification.

[30] Loh I-to (1982) classifies his examples into such categories as "epic and myth," "religious rituals," "nature, scenery and village," "military and hunting," "occupational," and "social and recreational." This song classification is based on roles and contexts of the musical performances.

> *Paiwan and Rukai*. For the Paiwan harvest festival, polyphonic group singing with a drone bass is popular. The Paiwan also sing and dance at wedding ceremonies: the bride, a shaman (or shamans) with family members, and attendants sing their own vocal parts, resulting in an interesting heterophony (Hsu Tsang-Houei and Lu Yu-Hsiu, 2001).[31]

Those folksongs from Aboriginal "tribes" and community, therefore, stood out as a valuable "treasure" due to its academic value recognized by foreign and domestic scholars. While the methods may differ in many ways, these early Han scholars were all compelled by a desire to collect and preserve Aboriginal music as part of the cultural richness of Taiwan. However, these studies barely touched on other songs popular among the Aboriginal community at that time, especially hybridized "commercial tunes" with Japanese and Han influences. Some scholars point out that such kinds of folksong collection and academic construction intentionally exclude those "hybridized" songs due to their lack of "authenticity" (Fan, 1994; Chen; 2012). Ethnomusicologist Wang Ying-Feng (2008), in her re-study of Kurosawa's music survey, points out that some Aboriginal songs in the recording were actually rearranged or influenced by Japanese music; in fact, several songs that are considered "folk tunes" are very obviously influenced by Japanese scales. This is reminiscent of the early twentieth-century attitude toward preserving music, whereby "the collector would intrude, trying to persuade people not to change their ways, insisting that it was incumbent on them to retain preindustrial practices" (Nettl, 2005:167).

The early song collectors emerged as authorities for interpreting musical authenticity by distinguishing Aboriginal "folksong" from mass-produced music through a series of published song collections, articles, and phonograph records. Equally relevant to Taiwan's case is Karl Miller's *Segregating Sounds*, in which he argues that early

[31] "Taiwan." *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2001.

American folklorists were able to "depict pure racial repertoires only by omitting or eliding evidence of music shared between black and white southerners" (2010:247). The communalists, he argues, collected songs from both black and white informants but rarely talked about their diverse repertoires as evidence that contradicted their own racial categories. Initial evidence of this can be found in Han scholars' notes, which reveals the fact that these scholars did not deem a large body of repertoires to be appropriate for the folksong collection; they rejected both what they deemed "commercial tunes" and songs associated with Han Chinese or Japanese influences.

"Happy-Go-Lucky" Other

One can typically witness cultural assimilation in the process of nation-building. In 1950s, the KMT government carried out an assimilation policy (Mountain People's Life Improvement Movement, 山地生活改進運動), in which the government formulated Mandarin as the national language and suppressed all local dialects. This policy was part of the KMT's policy of "making the mountains like the plains." The KMT government used the term *shan bao* (mountain people) to reflect the place of Aborigines in the KMT state; such Han-centric ideology often depicted Aborigines as those who needed to be "improved" and "plainified." In economic terms, Aborigines became indispensable suppliers to Han of such diverse services as music, entertainment, tourism, forest work, and seasonal agricultural work. Music became a mirror of those exploitative experiences at that time. In particular, the so-called *linbange* ("songs of forest workers" 林班歌) emerged around the 1950s. A large number of Aboriginal youth from different villages were hired by the Forest Bureau to work in the woods, thus bringing various musical and linguistic elements together. This form of Aboriginal song still appears frequently in today's performances and albums.

The KMT government's top-down system played a significant role in dominating the development of arts, tourism, and local culture before the 1980s. Under the government's surveillance, most publications, performances, and artworks at that time were expected show opposing the mainland PRC regime by emphasizing patriotism and even the recovery of the mainland from the Chinese Communists (Chen, 2007). For example, the Chinese Culture Renaissance Movement launched by the government in 1966 became the primary basis for cultural policy to hold cultural activities, implement educational reform, and encourage academic publications that supported this official ideology. The unified national music, opera, and language, for instance, became the means by which the government propagated the ideology of Chinese culture and suppressed the consciousness of minority and local culture.

The government's policy toward Aborigines in this period was based on just such an ideological framework of assimilation, but simultaneously utilized the touristic value of Aboriginal culture by viewing it in a gaze of "domestic orientalism" (Rees, 2000). Nowadays, the prominent Taiwanese news coverage has been attentive to the "happy-go-lucky" aspect of Aborigines; a few examples for this are the official-funded harvest festivals and song-and-dance performance in tourism-oriented Aboriginal cultural parks. The formation of this racial stereotype can be traced back to the early postwar period. In 1952 the KMT regime established the China Youth Corps (CYC), a semi-military and social education organization that taught young Aboriginal men and women and recruited members from villages. The Cultural Working Group (*wenhua gongzuodui* 文化工作隊) under CYC normally performed cheerleading-like song-and-dance to motivate local villagers and spread the KMT's political ideology, which greatly contributed to the formation of "mountain song-and-dance" (*shande gewu* 山地歌舞). As such

performances were often cross-village and cross-tribe (Chen, 2007),[32] it repeatedly imposed the expectation that Aborigines are a passionate, "can sing and dance well" (*nenge shanwu* 能歌善舞) racialized other (Rees, 2000). CYC can therefore be seen the prototype of today's Aboriginal tourist troupes.

This cross-tribe stylized arrangement of Aboriginal song-and-dance emerged around the early 1970s, when the KMT government began to establish the "mountain song-and-dance training troupes." In 1976, the government implemented the Scheme of Preserving Mountain Indigenous Culture (*weihushandi guyowenhua shishejihua*, 維護山地固有文化實施計劃), which included the establishment of Aboriginal cultural parks and villages, and the training of troupes specializing in arrangements and performances of mountain song-and-dance. Despite the government's initiative to "sustain" Aboriginal cultures, these cultural parks encouraged the commercial visits of mainly Han tourists. For example, the Formosan Aboriginal Cultural Villages in Sandimen Township, Pingtung County, was built in 1986 with five theme parks combining tourism, culture, and educational activities. The primary purpose for setting up the troupes, however, was promoting local tourism, which served as an "accomplishment of protecting Aboriginal culture."

This song-and-dance functions as a representation of pan-Aboriginal construction that co-exists with tourist consumption of the Other (Hsieh, 2004). In a typical performance of this kind, Aboriginal performers dress in bright ethnic clothes with wide smiles and perform songs and dances from several ethnic groups, representing the exotic and "happy-go-lucky" people who are fanatical about singing and dancing. Many disparate Aboriginal groups often perform on stage together to symbolize ethnic harmony

[32] For more details about China Youth Corps, see Chen 2007.

and take turns saying “hello” in 16 Aboriginal tongues against a recorded medley backing track (See Figure 2.4). These various groups’ segments were eventually situated to signify the broader entity of a culturally diverse but unified Aborigines. Also, the lyrics in this type of song-and-dance feature a lot of Aboriginal non-lexical syllables such as “na-lu-wan” and “o-hai-yan.” These syllables have become a symbol to represent Aborigines through the dissemination of “mountain songs” and Han people’s appropriation of Aboriginal musical elements; it becomes a racially encoded sign that distinguishes Aborigines from Han.

Figure 2.4: Performance at the concert for the 30th anniversary of Taiwan Aboriginal Cultural Park, Ulaluc village, 8 July 2017. Photo by author.

Becoming “Aborigines”

Overall, the trajectory of these changes in terms shows the long period of marginalization of Aborigines and the inequitable relationship between them and the

dominant majority. The rise of pan-Aboriginal consciousness is a relatively contemporary formation. With the increasingly stabilized PRC regime in mainland China since the 1970s, Taiwan's settlers and Aborigines increasingly make demands for democracy and establishing a native Taiwanese identity. Until this increased consciousness, Aborigines lacked control over the descriptions and images, whether scientific, artistic, or literary. In the 1980s, Aboriginal students at National Taiwan University founded the magazine *gaoshanqin* (high mountain green) as a channel through which to form a pan-Aboriginal identity. This transformation in favor of pan-Aboriginal consciousness also triggered a series of Aboriginal movements launched by Aboriginal activists agitating for Aboriginal rights at a collective level since the 1980s. Movements such as the Return Our Lands Movement (還我土地運動), which challenged the expropriation of Aboriginal territories in the late 1980s, were part of the larger democratization movement (Munsterhjelm, 2014:21). Aboriginal activists within these movements strive to claim recognition, collective rights, and sovereignty, as well as break historical cultural stereotypes regarding Aboriginal as poor, alcoholic, dark-skinned, "can sing-and-dance well" entertainers.[33]

The Formosan people in Taiwan were not officially considered what in English is known as "Aboriginal people" until the first use of the phrase "*Yuan-chu-min*" (原住民). This phrase was popular among Aboriginal activists and intellectuals during the 1980s and was first included in an official government speech and the revisions of Taiwanese Constitution in 1994 (Stanton, 1999). Then president Lee Teng-Hui crafted a nationalist rhetoric by creating the inclusive concept of "new Taiwanese" (Lan, 2006). The

[33] In 1984, the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA), as the first Aboriginal non-governmental organization for Aboriginal rights, mainly addressed issues of discrimination, appealing for the return of lost land, naming, and autonomous rights. It is worth noting that some of those early Aboriginal activists are also singer-songwriters, such as Kimbo (whose Chinese name is Hu Te-Fu 胡德夫).

government nowadays classifies them into two categories: plains Aborigines (*pinpuzu* 平埔族) and Aboriginal People (*yuan-chu-min*, formerly called *gaoshanzu* 高山族).[34] This classification is derived from Japanese according to their areas of settlement and influence from Han: the term "plains Aborigines" literally designates those Aborigines who mostly live in the plains area with a more Han-assimilated culture, while "Aboriginal People" refers to Aborigines who are from the eastern plains or mountainous areas of Taiwan with less Han influence. The subgroups of plains Aborigines are not officially recognized due to their ambiguous groupings and influence of Sinicization. On the other hand, there are sixteen officially recognized Aboriginal groups today—the Atayal, the Amis, the Saisiyat, the Sediq, the Thao, the Bunun, the Tsou, the Truku, the Sakizaya, the Kavalan, the Puyuma, the Rukai, the Paiwan, the Yami, the Hla'alua, the Kanakanavu—and six were recognized after 2000 with the rise of indigenous and pan-Aboriginal consciousness (Figure 2.5).[35] It is apparent that this process inevitably entails a series of cultural revitalization movements launched by Aboriginal advocacy, thus opening up a new contestation over notions of Aboriginal culture.

[34]The term *gaoshanzu* (mountain Aborigines) is politically incorrect in contemporary Taiwanese society. The word *gaoshan* means "mountain," which has connotation of primitive savage or backwardness due to the historical background. The plains peoples include the Ketagalan, the Luilang, the Kavalan, the Taokas, the Pazeh, the Papora, the Babuza, the Hoanya, the Siraya, and the Thao who live along the west coast, on the plains and around the mountains.

[35]According to Status Act of Indigenous Peoples, Article 2, the term "indigenous people" herein includes "native indigenous peoples of the mountain and plain-land regions."

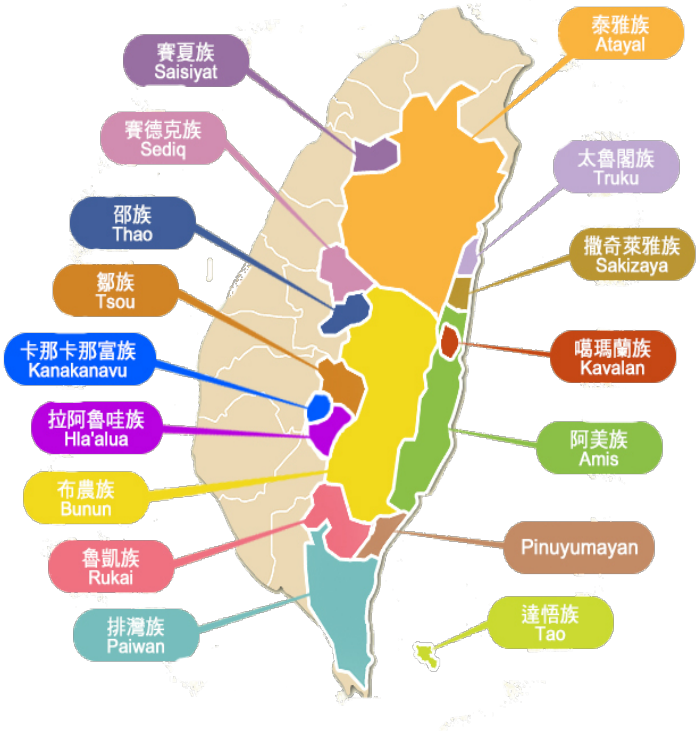

Figure 2.5: The sixteen Aboriginal groups recognized by the Taiwan government as of 2018.

Thus far I have traced the historical narratives of Taiwan's Aborigines from the colonial gaze, outlining the two-fold process of racialization. On the one hand, these colonial accounts otherized Aborigines as a racialized collectivity and reinforced the racial hierarchy, and, on the other hand, the early Japanese and Han scholarship's approach to Aboriginal music suggested a museumized object in which each "tribe" is attached with a fixed and distinctive cultural essence with clear-cut boundaries. Under this approach, the Aboriginal entity can only be considered an "aggregate" of all sixteen Aboriginal "tribes" (Chen, 2007:95). While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to provide an in-depth examination on all sixteen Aboriginal groups individually, I eschew the "tribes aggregate" approach in order to better examine the emic terminologies (i.e.,

Paiwan) and disentangle the intricate relationship between discourses on "tradition" and contemporary practice.

The existing Taiwanese legal terms and discourses in various fields constantly fortify Aborigines as a collective entity and refashion their music as a symbol of Aboriginality. The current craze for Aboriginal music in festivals and the government's cultural policies also illustrates how these discourses represent Aborigines as an entity. It is apparent that these discourses frame Aborigines as a group that shares a common colonial history, socio-political position, and capital. Furthermore, contemporary revivals of Aboriginal music and dance emerged as "one mode of social action that reclaims cultural identity, expresses sovereignty, and transforms individuals and communities" (Levine, 2014:301). In this respect, my approach considers Aborigines as a social group that shares the common motivation to the music revival, while focusing on the case of Paiwan music to more carefully capture how current Aboriginal revivalists and Paiwan practitioners imagine themselves in relation to past musical practices, as well as the ways in which traditions become invested in contemporary aesthetic politics.

While examining music revival requires a more nuanced analysis of the politics of "authenticity," the following section focuses on the Paiwan people's view on music and interrogates the following questions: while the government has been active in the promotion of cultural heritage, how do Paiwan people choose to represent themselves and their music? How do their views on music resemble or differ from those in previous scholarship?

THE PAIWAN

The Paiwan people are the 3rd largest Aboriginal group in Taiwan, residing mostly in southern Taiwan around the Tjagalaus mountain area (Da-wu mountain) with approximately 100,000 members across Kaohsiung, Pingtung, and Taitung counties (see Figure 2.6).[36] As stated in *Report on the Old Customs of Barbarian Tribes* (番族慣習調查報告書), Vol.5, the name "Paiwan tribe" was given by Japanese anthropologists when they visited a village named *supaiwan*, one of the possible oldest villages of the Paiwan. According to Japanese anthropologists' ethnic classification, the Paiwan people can be divided into two systems based on the similarities and differences between dialect and custom: the *ravar* system, centered around the northern Dawu mountain area, and the *vutsul* system, centered around the central and southern Dawu mountain areas. The *vutsul* system can be further divided into four sub-groups, *paumaumaq* in the north, *paliljaliljav* in the central, *tja'uvu'uvulj* in the south, and *paqaluqalu* in the east.[37] The Paiwan people today are self-consciously aware of these sub-divisions, as they often point out the internally recognized regional differences and distinctions based on the classification. Resonating with the interplay between group identification and social categorization I mentioned earlier (Jenkins, 2008:38), these differences are reflected in their musical practices (see Chapter Three).

The term "tribe" is a Japanese colonial legacy. While it is clear that this term is a social categorization derived from Japanese ethnic classification based on traits in material culture and language, I discuss the emic terms the Paiwan people use to identify themselves and others. The Paiwan language, one of 16 Formosan languages spoken in

[36]According to a population investigation by Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior in 2016, Paiwan people constitute 17% of Aboriginal population with about 99,000 people. http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/news_content.aspx?sn=11769&page=1, accessed June 28, 2017

[37] There are several different ethnic classifications made by Japanese anthropologists. The one I mentioned here is made by Kojima Yoshimichi.

Taiwan today, is the native language in local villages. As I witnessed, many people in those Paiwan villages around Pingtung County identify themselves as "*kacalisian,*" as opposed to race or Aboriginality. The term literally refers to the people who live on the slopes of mountainside (*calisi*) around the Tjagalaus mountain area, which is an iconic homeland described in many folk and contemporary Paiwan song lyrics. While Han Chinese developed terms to refer to Aborigines, Aborigines likewise invented terms to designate the Han. Derived from racial encounters, the term *payrang* (白浪) has been used to refer to (or ridicule) Han Chinese. Associated with the colonial history, the term sometimes implies the negative feelings the locals harbored toward the Han.

Figure 2.6: The distribution of the Paiwan.[38]

[38] Source: Digital Museum of Taiwan Indigenous Peoples, http://www.dmtip.gov.tw/web/en/page/detail?nid=8

Conventionally, there were social organization and governance practices that were conjoined with Paiwan society (a so-called "feudal" social organization by early anthropologists), which comprised the nobility (*mamazangiljan*), the distinguished class (*pualu*), and commoners (*qatitan*). The hereditary chief (*vusam*), who inherited his position, was also the ritual and political leader of all associated households in the village. The following figure illustrates the social organization of the Paiwan:

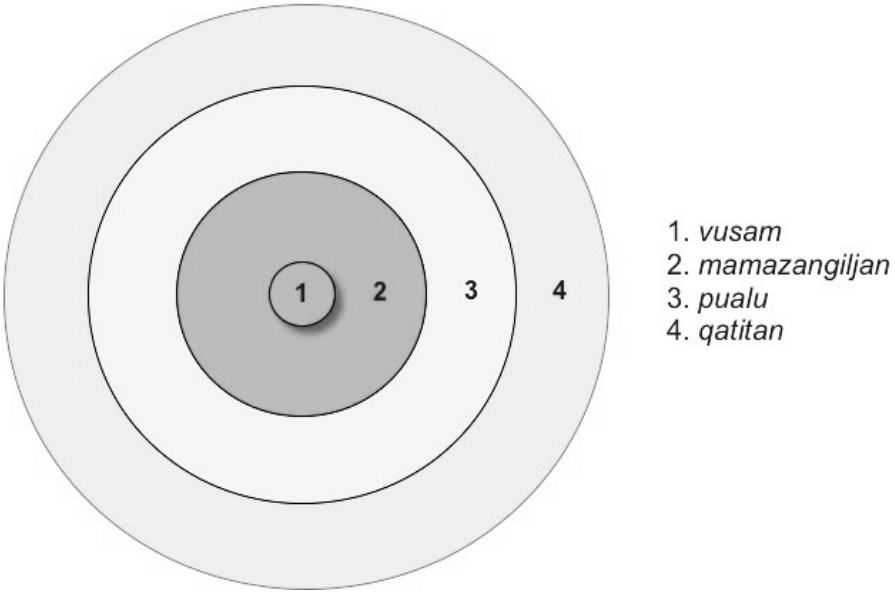

Figure 2.7: Summary of Paiwanese social organization.[39]

Nowadays, the Paiwan cultural revitalization movements embrace this system of social organization as a core value, as it continues to exist in many facets of local activities. Despite the fact that some restrictive social norms have been gradually loosened, many Paiwan intra-village activities like weddings and harvest festivals still maintain certain social norms that are structured by this system. The differences of social

[39] Instead of using the pyramid, the Paiwan artist Omass Zingror uses concentric circles to illustrate Paiwan social organization.

hierarchy are embedded in various Paiwan cultural expressions, such as carved wooden eave beams of the chief's house (*umaq*), songs (*senasenai*), mythical stories (*milimilingan*), sculpture, textiles, pottery (*dredretan*), hand tattoos (*vecik na lima*), costumes, and decorative glass beads (*ata*). For instance, Paiwan nose flutes (*lalingedan*) are typically restricted to noble males, and only the nobility (*mamazangiljan*) had the privilege of owning the intricately carved instruments (see Chapter Four). All the carving patterns on the wood or other motifs on sculptures are enriched with human, sun, and snake ancestors (Figure 2.8). The transmission of some Paiwan songs also reflects this particular system of social organization. For instance, some Paiwan songs for weddings are restricted to *mamazangiljan* only and therefore not available to everyone to learn and pass down.

Figure 2.8: Carved wooden eave beams of the chief's house (left) and carved nose flutes (right)

IN SEARCH OF PAIWAN TERMINOLOGIES

What is the Paiwan's view on "music"? Ethnomusicological scholarship has long been attentive to the consideration of the difference between various emic terminologies and music; some vocal activities are not equivalent to the concept of "music." Examples of this include the *joik* sung by the Sami in northern Europe (Hilder, 2015), and the *adhan* call to prayer sung by muezzins in Islamic communities. Given that internal and external boundaries constantly shift as the terminologies vary over time, the primary task of this section is neither identifying cultural differences rooted in Aboriginality nor defining the music as a series of categories. Rather, I account for the reasons that particular terms and categories come into play in local conditions. While these emic terminologies and related concepts have become a symbol of native-ness in Aboriginal music revival, I explore those terms in order to better understand its continual importance within contemporary Aboriginal musical practices.

According to my conversation with Paiwan members, there are no equivalent words for "music," "art," or "performance" in Paiwan language. The word that has the closest meaning to "music" is *senai*, which generally refers to song or the act of singing in Aboriginal groups like the Paiwan and the Puyuma. In terms of traditional instruments, only bamboo flutes are in common use among the Paiwan people. The flutes have become a symbol of the Paiwan today due to the process of institutionalization since the 1990s (see Chapter Three). Despite its close relationship with singing, the word for Paiwan flute playing is *lalingedan* (nose flute) or *pakulalu* (mouth flute).[40] The term *senai* is not confined to Western concepts of music. Numerous Paiwan singers/artists repeatedly emphasized that they do not receive training in "music" or read notation, even

[40] The Paiwan terms "*lalingedan"* and "*pakulalu"* can either means the flutes themselves or playing the flutes.

if they did have abundant local performing experiences. Some of them also commented that other people who receive formal "music" education did not understand their local aesthetics. For the sake of clarity, I use the word *senai* here instead of the more nuanced word "music."

The term *senai* frequently appears as a Paiwan-translated title in music festivals and publications, such as books, discographies, websites, and magazine articles. However, *senai* has been translated into several different Chinese terms in Taiwan's cultural discourses: singing (*changge* 唱歌); "ancient" tunes (*gudiao* 古調); songs (*ge* 歌); chanting (*yinchang* 吟唱); music (*yinyue* 音樂). It may imply a mixture of chanting, storytelling, recitatives, and singing. As it has wider implications than the phrase "traditional songs," how would such subtle variations of language inclusion and exclusion by categorization and terminology reflect upon Sinicized and urbanized elements of Paiwan culture (Tan, 2012)? How does the concept of *senai* overlap with other kinds of Paiwan vocal/singing activities in practice? Answering these questions requires an analysis of emic understanding of the term and to what extent the concept of *senai* may or may not relate to.

Senai

Since the 2000s a growing number of writings by local Paiwan cultural insiders have paid attention to their older songs and repertoires as part of the larger Paiwan oral tradition (Kadrangian, 2010; Zhou, 2007, 2012a; 2012; Lin and Gao, 2014; Mulaneng, 2016). In order to trace the Paiwan's view on *senai*, it is necessary to clarify that there are several kinds of song and vocal genres associated with specific styles and ceremonies. In his case study on Suya vocal genres, Anthony Seeger suggests that it is more productive to "examine music in relationship to other art forms," as "everything is always partly

defined by what it is not" (Seeger, 2004:25). He further claims that "song has been distinguished from the other vocal art forms by the priority of its melody over text, the fixed mode of its presentation, the extensive use of textual repetition, the fixed length of its phrases, the fixed relations among pitches, and the unimpeachable authority of its fixed texts" (ibid: 51). This approach has been useful in examining the case of Taiwan's Aborigines. Since singing is an essential part of Aborigines' oral traditions, an analysis of their concept of "song" must begin by relating song to other vocal art forms.

During my fieldwork, several Paiwan members stressed that *senai* is widely used to refer to rural singing activities originated with everyday village life, not with the particular forms of singing/chanting or recitatives in ceremonies or rituals. For example, the Paiwan scholar Ljavuras a Kadrangian (2010) compiled several vocal genres that are not considered *senai* by the Paiwan: *cangit/cemangit* (funeral lament), *lada/semaqaljay* (shamanistic recitations), and *milingan* (myth storytelling). In his publication, Ljavuras emphasized that these vocal genres in the Paiwan oral tradition should not be confused with *senai* because some of the words and phrases used in these genres are confined to particular ritual contexts and rarely appear in everyday speech. It is also worth noting that some Paiwan elders and current performances still describe numerous Paiwan songs as *milimilingan* (myth story) to feature the priority of the lyrics over the melody. Although the previous music scholarship has regarded all these genres as part of Paiwan songs and singing analysis, *senai* is not a generic term that refers to all vocal activities in general. While I consider the aspects of Paiwan's musical life, my main focus here is on *senai* in order to clearly delineate how the concept has been represented by different agents.

Paiwan music scholar Zhou Ming-Jie (周明傑), who is a Pingtung County-based archivist and fieldworker, has made an in-depth investigation and maintains a specific emic perspective of Paiwan songs and music. Based on his extensive field recordings

from almost all the Paiwan villages in Pingtung and Taitung counties, he categorizes Paiwan folk songs into two main categories: ritual songs (祭儀歌) and non-ritual songs (非祭儀歌). The ritual songs mostly include *palisi*, which is the chanting of the pre-Christian shamanistic ritual. In the non-ritual category, Zhou further divided those songs into children's songs and six different kinds of everyday songs based on performance environment and social function (see Figure 2.9). He claims that these non-ritual songs are connected with various facets of customs and activities in Paiwan life, being used in occasions such as weddings, agricultural work, and celebrations.

Despite the fact that his song analysis covers almost all Paiwan singing/vocal genres, he did employ particular emic terminologies to refer to these genres and consciously distinguish *senai* from them. These terms include: *cemangit*[41] (funeral laments), *sipa'au'aung* (weeping tunes), *milimilingan* (myth stories).

[41] According to Zhou, the Paiwan people often sing *cemangit* for the mourning of the survivors whenever someone passes away and a funeral is organized.

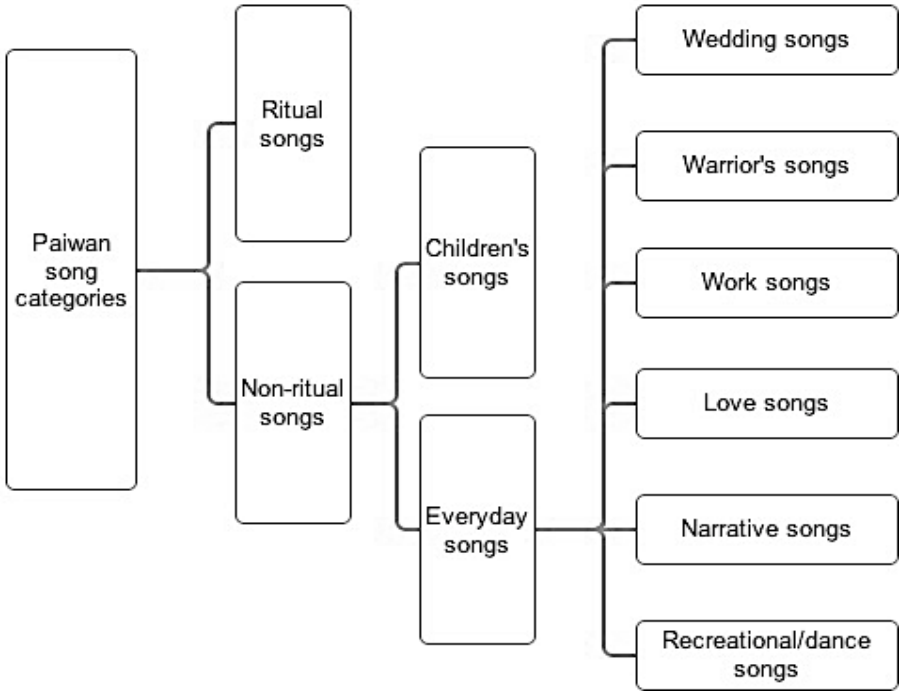

Figure 2.9: Zhou Ming-Jie's classification of Paiwan songs[42]

Aboriginal scholars have commonly used this dichotomy of ritual and non-ritual songs (e.g., Amis scholars Lifok and Panay Mulu) to classify musical practices. Likewise, several Paiwan members still maintain a clear boundary between the use of ritual and non-ritual songs, even though the line between *senai* and "music" has gradually become blurred in the present. As a member of AM Ensemble (*yuanyinshe* 原音社) and a manager of several Aboriginal singers, Ibun mentions that some ritual or ceremonious songs are not allowed to be sung or re-arranged for commercial recording or performance.[43]

This classification model consciously highlights the Paiwan-ness in two ways. First, it suggests that *senai* refers to those folk songs only used within non-ritual contexts

[42] Zhou, 2012a: 66.
[43] Interview, Taipei, July 20, 2017.

in village daily life. According to Zhou's classification, *senai* as "songs" would be understood within the framework of daily existence, as opposed to the idea of "music," which implies composed songs or the "refined" act of singing for performance purposes. This definition of *senai* frames folk singing as an intrinsic part of village life, foregrounding its improvisational and flexible nature. The dividing line between *senai* as a singing act for daily existence and a performance also remains clear for several Paiwan members. For example, Paiwan singer-songwriter Dakanow Luluan claims that *senai* as a singing act in daily life should be distinguished from "music" for staged performance, since the latter is more about "singing for outsider audience."[44] His comments echo Rees' analysis concerning Chinese "original ecology folksongs," in which Chinese urban intellectuals consciously distinguished "folk style" from "conservatory style" (2016:57).

In this respect, actors may recreate the manner of *senai* in ways that make them more appropriate for stage performance. Such a dividing line can even extend into the dichotomy of "tradition" vs. "modernity." Discourses of this type have often characterized such singing practice in Aboriginal community as more improvisational and participatory, as opposed to the more "modern" and "fixed" version of "music."

Periodization

Second, Zhou classifies the Paiwan songs through their isolation from those songs with modern commercialization, foreign influences, and interethnic exchange. The former features songs from the Paiwan community, while the latter adopts "outside" influences and the mode of production of the Han/Taiwanese music industry. Zhou recalled that the growth of the recording industry and advances of media starting in the 1960s facilitated the regional exchange of folksong singers (2012b). Other profound

[44] Personal communication, Pingtung, Nov. 2, 2016.

changes, such as Christianity, the migration of rural populations into urban centers, and introduction of amplification, facilitated the introduction of eclectic musical sources. Zhou's periodization tends to carefully distinguish outside influences from folksongs that existed before intergroup exchanges, the impact of colonization, and pop cultural circulation in order to highlight the traditionality of Paiwan music and the unbroken historical continuity of the Paiwan community. Nor was he the only one to make the distinction.

In contemporary events and publications featuring Aboriginal song and music, terminology and periodization also reveal such traditionalism. They generally generate periodization that marks certain changes in musical styles or works. For example, according to the concert of 2016 Makazayazaya Music Festival (瑪家鄉音樂祭) at the Pingtung County Concert Hall, Paiwan songs fall into three categories: 1) period of "ancient songs"; 2) Japanese colonial period; 3) "songs of forest workers" period.[45] In one of the performances of *The 2017 Series of Authentic Ethnic Music in Taiwan*, the Djineljepan Village Troupe adopted a similar periodization, classifying the repertoires into six categories: 1) village life I; 2) village life II (wedding ceremonies); 3) Japanese colonial period; 4) Christian period; 5) the KMT government's period; 6) ending. The expression normally used is "modern" (*xiandai* 現代) or "contemporary" (*dangdai* 當代).

The term "ancient tunes" is commonly used in today's cultural products, such as performances, albums, films, and TV programs. By the 1990s and 2000s, the terms *guyao* ("ancient/old songs" 古謠) and *gudiao* ("ancient/old tunes" 古調) have become more fashionable. The word *gu* (古) in Chinese literally means "ancient" or "old." The groups

45 In the late 1960s, Aborigines flocked to the national forest land to work for a living. Working in the forest lands for long periods of time, the Aboriginal laborers from various groups would sing together, bringing various musical influences and that became so-called "forest songs."

that perform their older songs invariably include the term *guyao* in their official names and emphasize that *guyao* symbolize their "cultural root." For example, the Taiwu *guyao chuanchang* (Taiwu ancient ballad troupe 泰武古謠傳唱), and Kuskus *guyaodui* (Kuskus Village Ancient Ballad Troupe (高士古謠隊), to name just a few. Artists who re-arranged a traditional tune would use the term *gudiao* to designate the tune they used. Both terms generally refer to those songs that have not influenced by non-Paiwan elements, including Han, Japanese, Western, and other Aboriginal groups. Note that "ancient" is somewhat different from "traditional" or "folk" among the Paiwan. Some people use the term to denote the songs with abundant Paiwan archaic language texts whose lexical meanings are considered more poetic. My Paiwan interlocutors pointed out that these archaic texts would not appear in "modern" composition and everyday speech, thereby becoming a symbol of ancient-ness. Many of them usually refer to the music in casual conversation with me as *gudiao*.

As Rees (2000) argues in her analysis on Naxi *guyue* ("Naxi ancient music"), the practitioners' use of the term *guyao* promote themselves as preservers of "ancient" music. This was also partly due to the fact that these practitioners feel the "loss" of their songs, so the suggestion of antiquity provides the legitimacy of revival. Advertisements directed at young Aboriginal people to learn the music refer to the training class "for Ancient tunes." This promotes a view of the songs as an important part of specifically Aboriginal cultural heritage. The government's policy often touched on the "endangered" nature of the "tradition" and played a vital role in encouraging Aborigines to develop their own distinct and differentiated art forms. A considerable number of research and educational projects in the names of *guyao* or *gudiao* were funded and initiated. The "ancientness" of the music has also become a selling point in the tourist and media market (ibid: 174). For

Aboriginal artists, the term *gudiao* tends to stress their ethnicity and the connection to their tradition.

Such classification also resonates with the politics of one common feature of musical revival: maintaining a clear-cut boundary between rural folk songs and so-called "modern" composed songs so as to eschew other songs with the influences of "outside" world. Zhou's song classification reflects the trait of revivalists, who position themselves "in opposition to aspects of the contemporary cultural mainstream, align themselves with a particular historical lineage, and offer a cultural alternative in which legitimacy is grounded in reference to authenticity and historical fidelity" (Livingston, 1999: 66). My conversations with some members of the Paiwan singing community have shown what Zhou believes to be "authentic" and durable practices that maintain Paiwan distinctiveness. The Paiwan flute artist, Gilegilau Paqalius, recalled that Zhou preferred to record songs without influences from such sources as Christianity, Japanese, and Han Chinese. In this sense, his concept of *senai* within his song classification suggests a "tradition" that features an expressive culture that represents a time before colonization.

Vocal Styles

Some communal singing styles are framed as specifically distinctive among the Paiwan. In particular, *cemikecikem* features a unique phonic texture set up by polyphonic group singing. This texture is characterized by the use of a higher vocal part called *cemikem,* with a vocal part of reiterate drone bass called *zemingrav* (Wu, 2011b; Zhou, 2012a). The transcription of "Uilji" is a good example of this style (Figure 2.10). This transcription allows a more apparent relationship between the two vocal parts (*cemikem* and *zemingrav*). Note that the drone bass part does not stick on one note but reiterates in relation to the upper line. As it presents the unique aesthetics and is representative of

Paiwan singing, this style has appeared in many of the examples used in the village-based troupes and tourist performance, as well as the national transmission project performance discussed in Chapter Four.

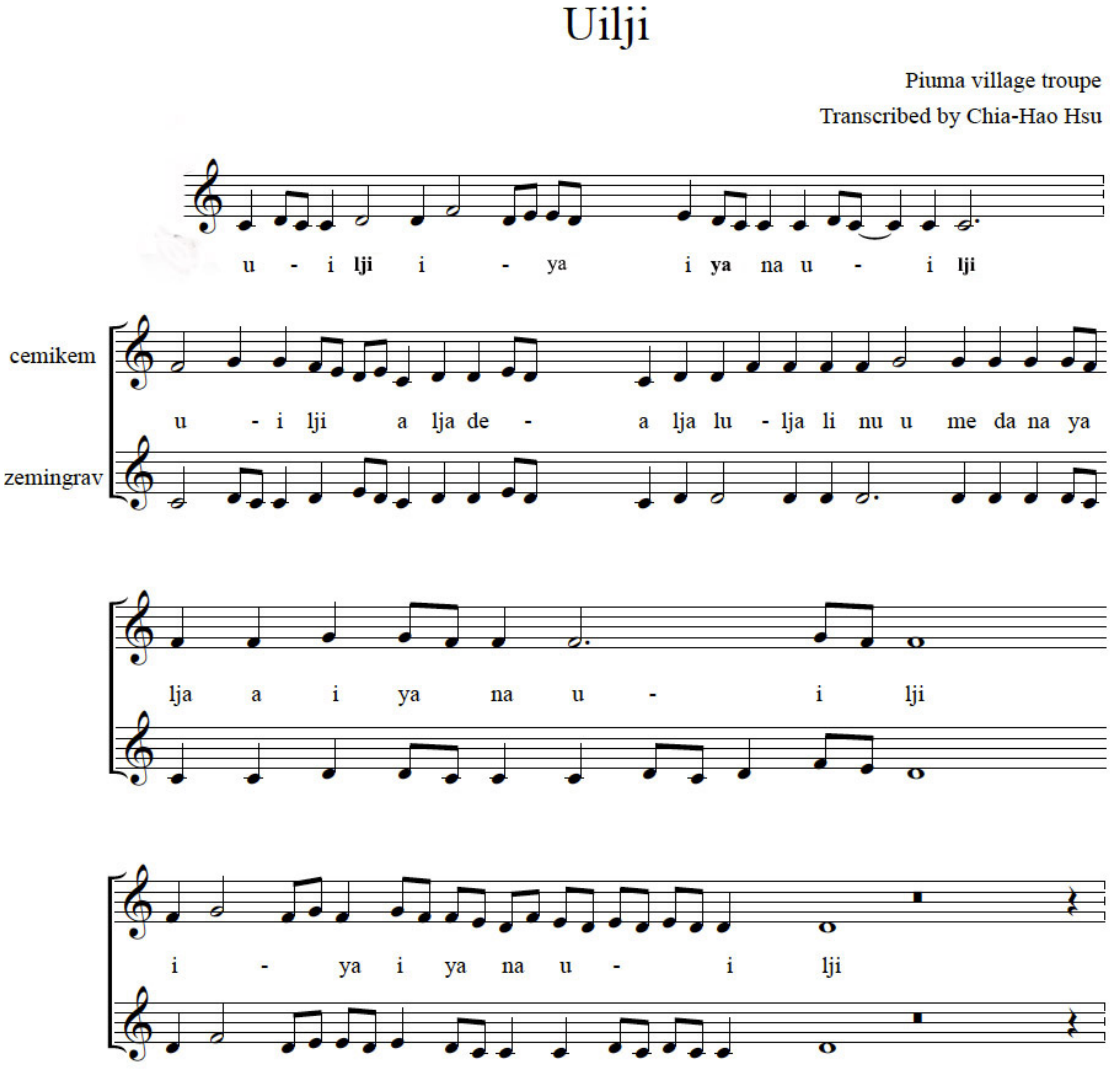

Figure 2.10: “Uilji” sung by Piuma village troupe. Transcribed by author.

In addition to *cemikecikem*, *senai* is also characterized by unison and responsorial singing. By "unison singing" I do not mean absolute sameness. While all singers always follow the general melodic contours, each may vary his/her ornaments. Individual

ornaments and stylistic variation can occur when singing in unison, and the capability to do so is even highly valued as a sign of excellence. Typically, a song is sung with a solo voice beginning each stanza and everyone else responding with the identical lyrics, which is displayed in Figure 2.11 (see full transcription of Example 1 “Ayiljanaluwan” in Appendix A). This type of responsorial form between a lead singer (*parutavak*) and chorus (*temavelak*) is deemed as a distinctive feature of traditional Paiwan singing (Wu, 2011b; Zhou, 2012a).

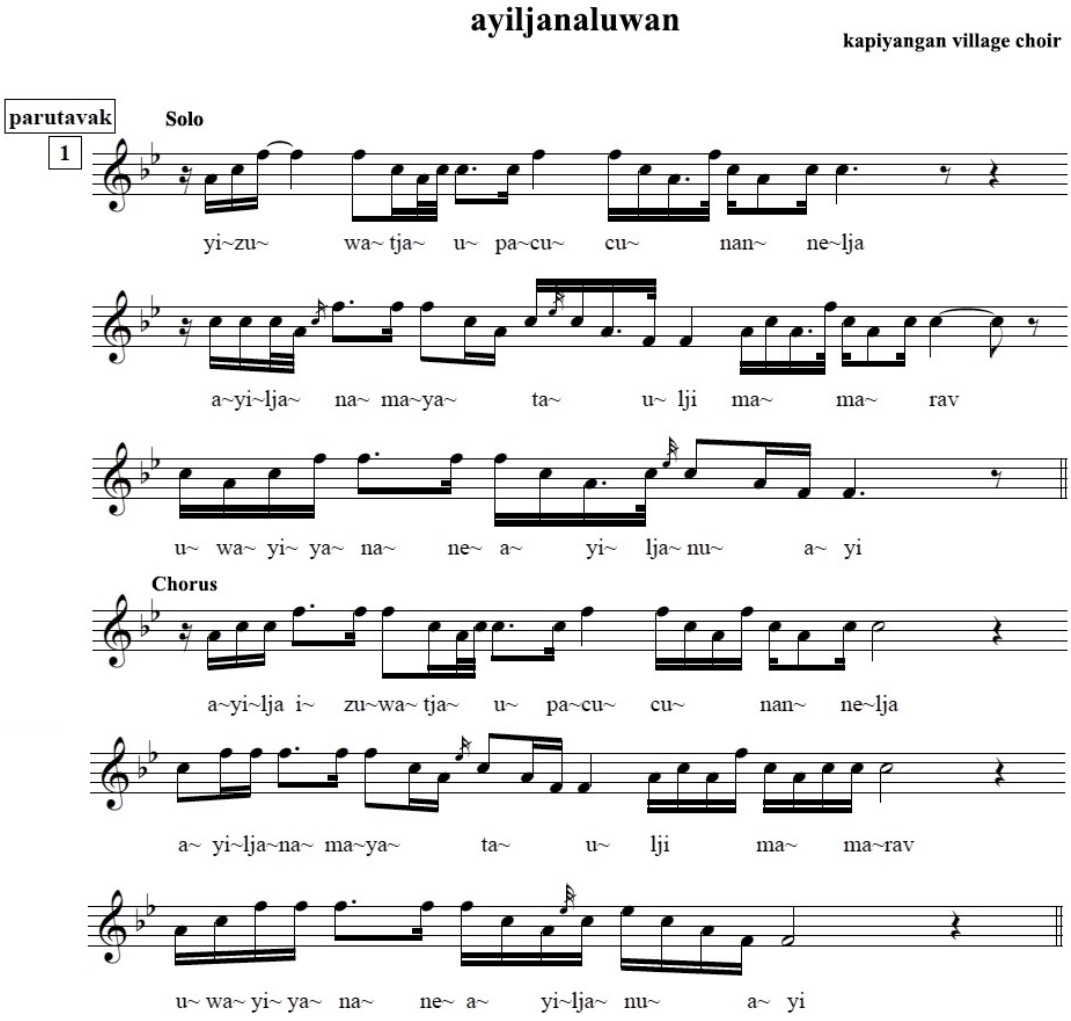

Figure 2.11: Example of the responsorial singing of "Ayiljanaluwan" sung by Kapiyangan village choir. Transcribed by author.

Another singing form is antiphonal singing, in which two sides of singers take turns singing reciprocally "in conversation" with each other. From a perspective of etymology, the word *masa-senai* literally means to "sing at" each other. This vocal form is often presented as dialogue songs with either one man and one woman, or else in groups. Many pointed out that this responsorial form of Paiwan singing is like a dialogue, and singers normally use particular local tunes and improvise verses inspired by feelings or occasions of the moment. In an effort to revitalize this "capability to improvise," Paiwan artist-songwriter Djanav Zengror (丹耐夫正若) has composed and performed to feature the ancestral improvisatory singing and ensure its revival. In my interview with Djanav, he emphasizes this feature thus:

> Conventionally, we Paiwan did not use fixed lyrics in our singing. What is important about Paiwan singing is the capability to sing with improvised lyrics. Paiwan singing is like a dialogue. Why can we Paiwan sing all night, even with the same tune? Because our lyrics are always changing! (Interview, August 7, 2018)

In this regard, text insertion in Paiwan singing is deemed a highly skilled improvisational technique, where singers bend rhythms on the spot with a melismatic singing technique to fit the length of verses (Zhou, 2012a). Overall, the discourses and classification of this kind frame Paiwan songs as a distinctive musical expression special to the Paiwan people, thus characterizing their music practices as a longstanding "system" comprising sub-genres and styles (Hsu, 2014).

***Senai* in Practice**

Ethnomusicologists have pointed out that much of the genre terminology now widely used refers to longstanding rural performing arts that originated not with the

village tradition-bearers themselves (Tuohy, 1999; Rees, 2016). Unlike the song titles given by Han or Japanese scholars based simply on the social functions or the accompanying activity (e.g., "Wedding song," "Lullaby"), villagers normally have certain norms of their musical practices, such as where and when they should perform, and what tunes could be sung.[46] According to singers from Piuma village, Aboriginal folk songs are locally known in a different manner. As mentioned earlier, the lead singer normally "proposes" a tune by starting singing and then everyone would know what should be sung and join in. Most tunes start with several non-lexical syllables, and over time the Paiwan people have named the tunes by those opening syllables instead of the content of lyrics or its social functions.[47] For instance, the Paiwan songs named in this way include "Luljemai," "Uniyu," "Unanasi," and "Saceqaljan," just to name a few. Based on previous scholars' collection and mine, almost all the songs of *cemikecikem* are named by the Paiwan people in this manner.[48] The notation provided below is an example of how the tune is named by the opening non-lexical syllables (Figure 2.12).

[46] Paljadrek Mulaneng, 2016:23.
[47] Note that I use "tune" instead of "song" here to refer to the sung melody without static lyrics.
[48] Those songs include "inalaina," "uilji," and "lumamadan."

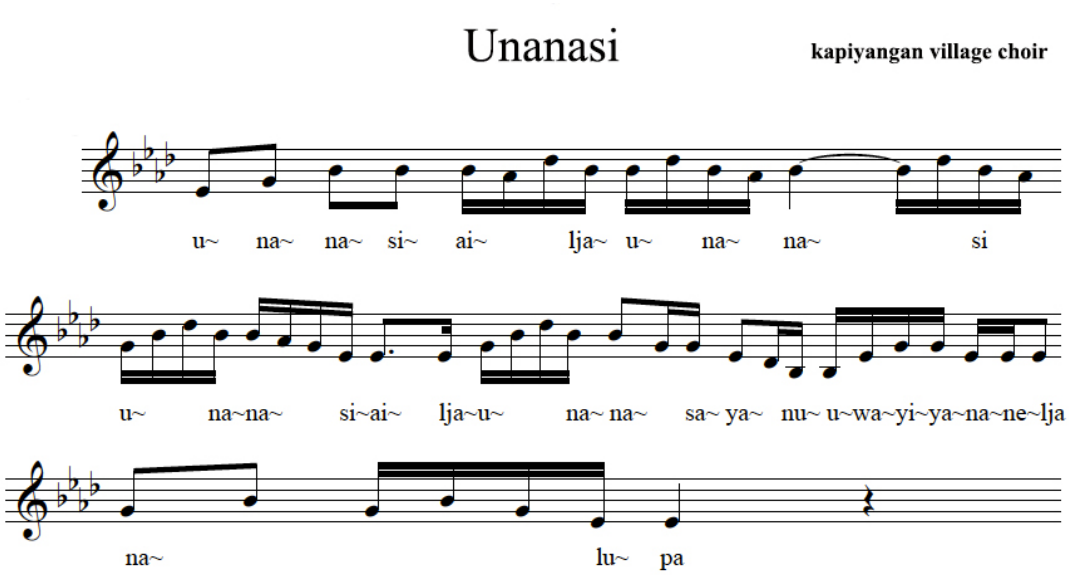

Figure 2.12: "Unanasi" sung by Kapiyangan village choir. Transcribed by author.

Such a manner reflects a strikingly different understanding of Paiwan songs. Just singing a song at a wedding, of course, does not guarantee that it is a "wedding song," as previous scholars designated. For example, in Kurosawa Takatomo's field recordings, one track titled "Dance of the millet harvest festival" is actually a common tune locally known as "Luljemai" (Figure, 2.13). According to Gilegilau Paqalius, "Luljemai" has been sung at a variety of celebratory occasions and gatherings, mostly among young people.[49] Of course, there are still songs that are strictly associated with particular occasions and activities. However, it is arbitrary to attribute one song with a particular social function only by the activity it accompanied.

[49] Personal communication. April 6, 2017, Pingtung.

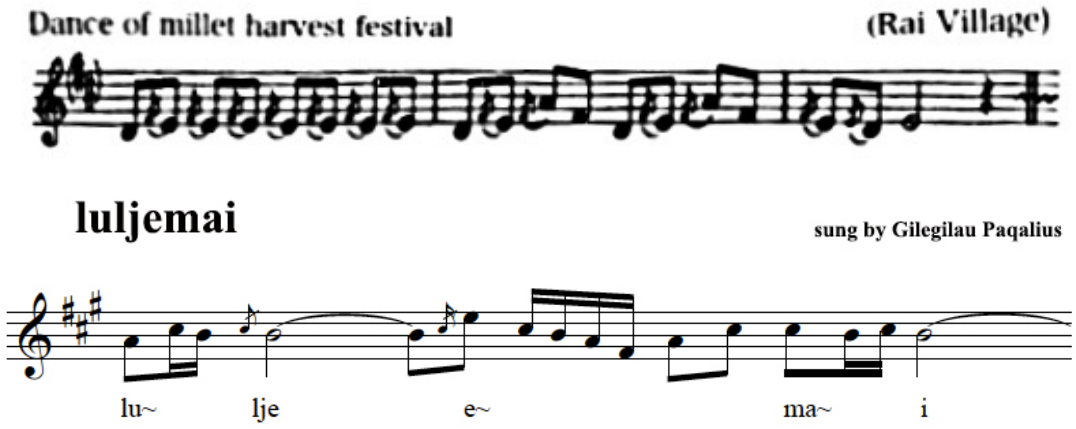

Figure 2.13: "Dance of millet harvest festival" in Kurosawa Takatomo's transcription (up). "Luljemai" sung by Gilegilau Paqalius (bottom), transcribed by author.

Due to the inclusive and flexible nature of *senai*, one should also note that various songs might in turn become the songs sung within the context of socialization and gatherings. A large part of Aboriginal repertoires consists of dance tunes, mostly vocal, reflecting the scene in which dancing and singing are a vital part of celebrations. In general, the participants dance and sing simultaneously in a circle, usually holding hands and performing a repetitive set of four-step or eight-step dance figures while moving clockwise (Figure 2.14).[50] Some melismatic, free-rhythm tunes may have a more metered version when dancing is applied. Several Paiwan tunes such as "La la yi," "Iyai," and "Yilaisats" are quite common in various gatherings like weddings and harvest festivals. This song-and-dance circle may enlarge to become part of a pan-Aboriginal event that includes different groups.

[50] Nowadays, the Paiwan normally call such dance as *sibuwu* ("four-steps dance" 四步舞) and *babuwu* ("eight-steps dance" 八步舞) in Chinese.

Figure 2.14: Villagers congregate to sing and dance in a circle during *masalut*, 21 July 2018. Photo by author.

Overall, the term *senai* is often characterized as an intra-village musical socialization and the songs sung in this context (Wu, 2011b; Zhou, 2012a). Aboriginal scholar Sun Da-Chuan (孫大川) defines *senai* as following:

> *Senay* [sic] is different from those song-and-dance used in rituals. It is more casual and flexible, without a particular restriction on the use of slang. Thus, it can always reflect the everyday existence of villagers. In terms of body language, it is more relaxed, and therefore can be a form of recreation. The song is always improvised and anonymous, emerged out as a collective creation (2002:414).[51]

However, *senai* is by no means a homogenous concept or fixed tradition, but instead a practice and concept that is constantly changing as Paiwan practitioners develop and mix wider expressive and stylistic qualities. This singing practice appears to have survived largely in the contexts of the *masalut* (millet harvest festival 收穫祭), weddings,

[51] Sun Da-Chuan. 2002. "Beauty Dynamics of the Aboriginals in Taiwan and Their Adaptation to the Modern Society" in *Asia-Pacific Traditional Arts Forum*. Pp.413-422.

local ceremonies, and as part of social recreation. A typical intra-village musical socialization involves groups of villagers congregating to chat, dance, and drink, and the songs occurred frequently at weddings or celebratory parties (see Figure 2.15). Ethnomusicologist Tan Shzr-Ee described her observation of this kind of singing activity in Amis Fafokod village as following:

> A feature of these loosely assembled parties is plenty of drinking, talking and laughing in conjunction with singing. "If two people sit together with a bottle of wine, there will surely be singing." (Tan, 2012:59)

Nowadays, intra-village musical socialization is not necessarily limited to traditional Paiwan songs. In a typical intra-village musical socialization, repertoires include a collection of Japanese, Mandarin, Taiwanese (Hoklo), and Aboriginal songs of various groups that contain non-lexical vocables such as "na-lu-wan" or "o-hai-yan." This phenomenon is reminiscent of the Suya, who were mostly monolingual but learned songs and ceremonies from outside influence and new media—not just Western but other cultural elements (Seeger, 1991:26). The majority of these tunes were widespread in villages in eastern Taiwan through the dissemination of early vinyl records and cassettes. Occasionally, there are also newly composed tunes that draw from the older Aboriginal tunes but are sometimes composed by Aboriginal artists.

This kind of musical socialization is interactive, flexible, and improvisational in the sense that each participant is allowed and expected to lead or propose songs by starting to sing the melody, as a sort of proposal for all to join (Chen, 2012). Also, the majority of those songs are strophic and can be easily sung with guitar accompaniment. One common slogan about this particular Aboriginal musical socialization is "Am until the sunrise" (Am到天亮), meaning that many songs sung are in A-minor and strophic, so they can consecutively sing the songs one after another.

Figure 2.15: Singers congregate around a table in Sepaiwan village, 3 Nov. 2016. Photo by author.

Based on my observation, the intra-village musical socialization does not maintain a clear boundary between "folksongs" and "pop songs." Due to its fluid and interactive nature, *senai* as a musical socialization integrates different genres, languages, and elements through borrowing and cross-referencing. Repertoires loosely range from folk tunes of several Aboriginal groups, songs with Japanese influence, and early Aboriginal "mountain songs," to contemporary Aboriginal pop songs. They are also inspired by a broad array of sources: folk and popular tunes from neighboring Aboriginal groups (especially the Rukai), Taiwanese pop, Japanese *enka,* and Western pop music. Of course, one can also hear some specific local styles and repertoires. In this context, the various versions of folksong and pop songs are available to Aborigines for singing and enjoyment. All of them collectively constitute the idea of today's *senai*.

Qinalan

This definition of *senai* emphasizes the crucial connection between the act of singing and daily life, especially the intra-village casual meeting of singing. To elaborate this view of *senai*, it is worth discussing the concept of village among Aborigines. Nowadays, the Chinese term *buluo* (部落) normally denotes the Aboriginal village.[52] Each Aboriginal group has their own folk terms to refer to their villages, such as *cekele* in Rukai and *fafokod* in Amis. Typically, the word *qinalan* in Paiwan refers to a self-contained, village-like kingdom, governed by a hereditary chief. Even though most villages (*qinalan*) claim independent status as little kingdoms, the precedence principle does apply to the relation between natal and branching-off villages (similar to the relation between natal houses and their branching-off houses) (Ku 2008:384).

Among Aborigines, villagehood is an important marker to identify their origins. For example, Paiwan villagers always name their birth village, as opposed to ethnic group or region, when asked about their origins. Villagehood is also a prime symbol of distinctive local practice: often-heard sayings among Paiwan people include "we don't do this in our village," or "this version is actually from XYZ village."[53] As I witnessed among Paiwan musical practitioners, the individual or groups typically perform songs from their home villages. In different villages, even the same tune may have regional differences in local idioms and melodies. The tune "Luljemai," for instance, exists in multiple variants across various Paiwan villages (see Figure 2.16). Of course, the recordings of the same tune tend to exist in multiple individual variants, which feature the

[52] Nowadays, the Paiwan "village" is no longer a pre-colonial concept. Some of the villages are relocated due to the natural disasters and economic reform. The state uses the Chinese word "*cun*" (村) to refer to the village, while Aborigines I encountered used the terms *buluo* as well as *cun* to denote the village. In most of Aboriginal villages in Pingtung County, one can normally see a giant monument using the terms *buluo* or *cun* to greet visitors. In this dissertation, I use the term village to denote the Paiwan idea of village or home-base.

[53] According Tan (2012), similar sayings can be found among the Amis people.

singers' own interpretation and technique of ornamenting. In addition to individual variants, Paiwan people have often used terms like "Piuma tune," "Kapiyangan tune" to refer to variants from different villages. Such emphasis on the village as a unit to mark identity and local practice becomes a significant basis for Aborigines to display and revitalize their music.

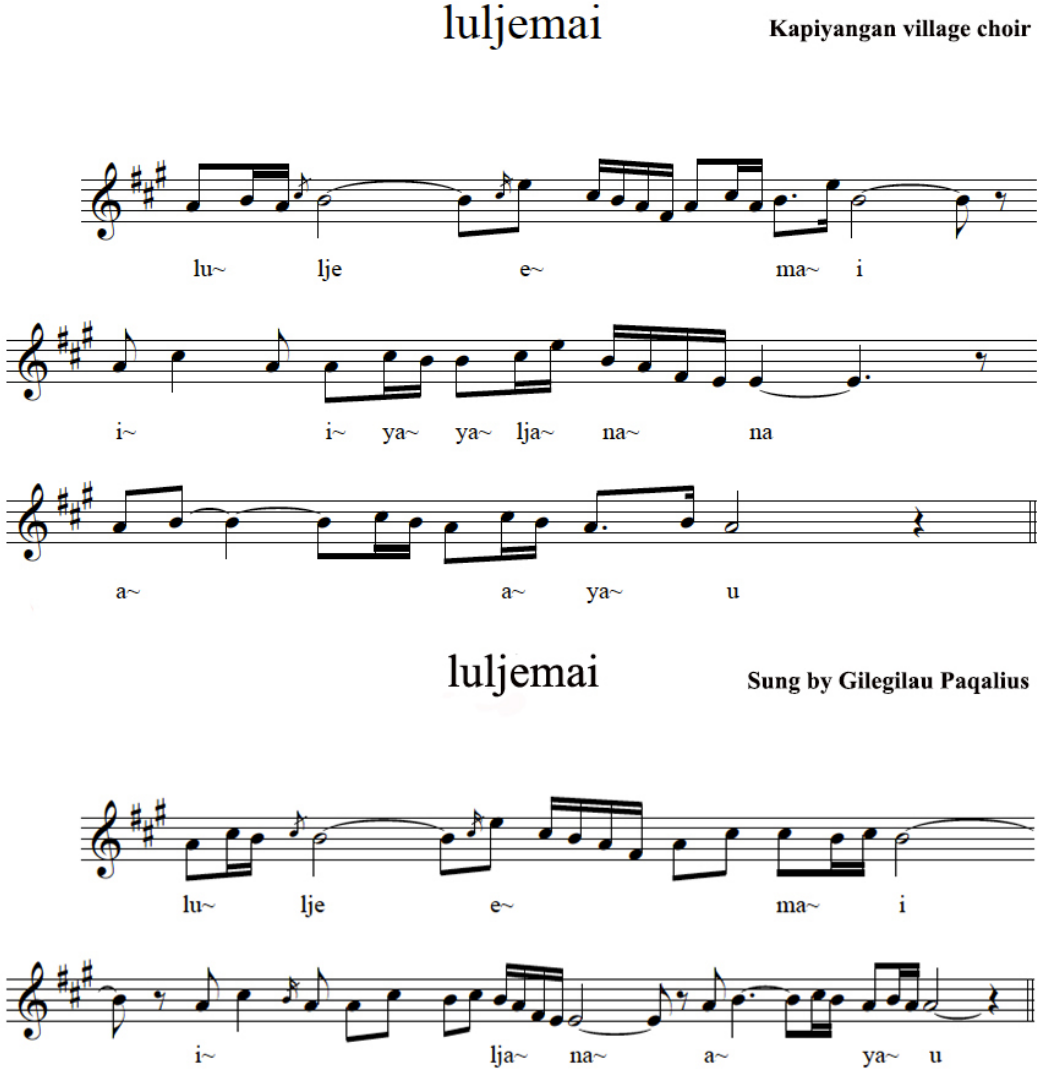

Figure 2.16: Example of variants of "Luljemai" across Paiwan villages. Transcribed by author.

This idealization of village is reflected in the proliferation of village troupes since 2000. Many contemporary local troupes of Aboriginal song and dance are organized based on their home villages. Troupes of this kind normally include their home villages in the official names like Piuma Village Troupe (平和部落歌團), Kuskus Village Ancient Ballad Group (高士古謠隊), and Sinvaudjan Village Traditional Singing Group (牡丹古謠隊). Such village-based groups often emphasize community-based fieldwork to collect older repertoires from elders and reclaim their communal songs and dances as central components of cultural identity.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have discussed how historical accounts, previous scholarship, and colonial power contribute to the construction of "Aboriginal music." The stereotypes created by these historical accounts and scholarship reveal a continuity of racialization and marginalization of Aborigines. The second part of this chapter explored the emic view of music by focusing on Paiwan song classification, terminologies, and musical practices. This examination aims to show how the Paiwan people inhabited the norms they inherited and how those norms gave rise to principles that continue to shape the Paiwan aesthetic today.

Returning for now to the question at the beginning of this chapter—what makes the performers "Aboriginal"? The notion of Aboriginality or Paiwan-ness derived not only from socio-political and economic hierarchies, but also from the perpetuation of cultural practices and other forms of embodied experience. In this regard, the performance of *senai* is a crucial activity to maintain village ties and the production of cultural capital. The embodied dimension of the act of singing or particular ways of

musical socialization entails some sort of social experiences that marked a real distinction. In later chapters, I will demonstrate how these experiences became in turn a crucial site for the music revival through the examination of different dimensions of Paiwan musical practices.

Chapter 3: Sounding Paiwan: Institutionalization and Heritage-Making of Paiwan *Lalingedan* and *Pakulalu* in Contemporary Taiwan

Lalingedan ni vuvu namaya tua qaun

Lalingedan ni vuvu namaya tua luseq……

Lalingedan sini pu'eljan nu talimuzav a'uvarun

Lalingedan nulemangeda'en mapaqenetje tua saluveljengen

Ancestor's nose flute is like weeping.

Ancestor's nose flute is like tears...

When I am depressed, the sound of the nose flute becomes a sign of sorrow.

When I heard the sound of the nose flute, I always have my lover in mind.

—Sauniaw Tjuveljevelj, from the song "*Lalingedan ni vuvu,*"
in the album *Nasi*

In 2011, the Taiwan government's Council for Cultural Affairs declared Aboriginal Paiwan *lalingedan* (nose flutes) and *pakulalu* (mouth flutes) to be National Important Traditional Arts. Sauniaw Tjuveljevelj, a designated holder of Paiwan flutes at the county level, released her first album *Nasi* in 2007, which included one of her Paiwan songs "*Lalingedan ni vuvu"* (Ancestor's nose flute). Containing both nose flute playing and singing in Paiwan language, the song shows her effort to accentuate the Paiwan roots by connecting the nose flute with her ancestors. The lines of the song mentioned above reflect the way that prominent cultural discourses in Taiwan depict the instruments today; the sound of Paiwan flutes (hereafter referred to collectively as Paiwan flutes) resembles

the sound of weeping, which is a voice that evokes a sense of ancestral past and "thoughtful sorrow."

However, the music of *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* was rarely labeled as sorrowful in the previous literature before the middle of the 1990s. Since both instruments had all the hallmarks of an endangered tradition by the second half of the twentieth century, when and how did the sonic character of *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* become aesthetically coded with this particular sense of "thoughtful sorrow"? How does this transformation contribute to the process of national cultural production? Understanding the process of institutionalization as an "ideological prerequisite," this chapter focuses on how the large-scale music investigations conducted by anthropologists and ethnomusicologists in the 1990s articulated the relationship between the instruments, their related aesthetic experience, and an "ideal" Paiwan sound. I have relied on primary and secondary sources to sort out the state projects on traditional arts in general and on Paiwan flutes in particular, as well as data solicited from my interviews or personal communication with a number of Paiwan musicians. I argue that the designation of *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* as a national cultural property is the result of the institutionalization that has taken place since the 1990s. These investigations and publications not only brought the flutes to public attention, but also played a significant role in reinforcing certain affective values as a core symbol of the Paiwan group, which encouraged potential practitioners to return to what they had proposed as the "traditional" aesthetic.

LALINGEDAN AND *PAKULALU*

The *lalingedan*, a term normally used by Paiwan people to refer to the nose flute, is traditionally made of two pipes of bamboo: one pipe with finger holes, and the other

pipe without. The hole-less pipe normally produces a sustaining tone that accompanies the other holed pipe to form an echo (Figure 3.1). Although the hole-less pipe can only make a drone without melodic variation, it can still make drones in different octaves and overtones through breath control. Because of this structure, the *lalingedan* produces a unique texture, which many Paiwan people conceive of as closely corresponding with the texture of the Paiwan group singing style—a drone bass tone accompanying a melody. *Cemikecikem*, known as Paiwan polyphonic singing, normally features one higher voice part with one drone voice underneath it. Double-pipe flutes thereby become an essential part of iconic Paiwan sounding mode. Origin stories of the nose flutes contain references to a young man finding a *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper ("hundred-pace snake" 百步蛇) and drilling holes in pipes of bamboo to emulate the sound produced by the snake.[54] The single-pipe mouth flute is called *pakulalu* (Figure 3.1). The types of finger holes can be varied from three holes to six holes, depending on which region or village the flute is found. The representation of the sounds of the *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* is closely associated with its materiality and the maker-player's craftsmanship, which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

[54] This kind of snakes is named "hundred-pace snake" because it is held that one can only take one hundred steps after being bitten by this snake before succumbing to its deadly venom (Cline, 2014: 209-10).

Figure 3.1: *Lalingedan* (Double-pipe nose flute) and *pakulalu* (single-pipe mouth flute). Maker: Gilegilau Paqalius. Photo by author.

As represented in historical documents and the cultural discourses in the present, Paiwan flutes have always been closely identified with high social status in Paiwan society. In *Sounds of Love and Sorrow* (2001), a documentary produced by anthropologist Hu Tai-Li, several Paiwan elderly players recalled that only noble males were allowed to play the Paiwan flutes in the past, and mostly in courtship and for expressing individual emotion. As several elderly flautists recalled, a young man typically played his flutes outside the house of the young woman he wished to court, and the young woman knew who was playing and was moved by the sounds. In addition to

courting, master artist Gilegilau Paqalius points out that Paiwan people have also played the nose flutes in festive occasions such as harvest festivals (*masalut*) and weddings, as well as sending comfort when someone passes away.[55] German anthropologist Wolfgang Laade made field recordings of Taiwan's Aboriginal music in 1987 and depicts Paiwan flutes in the CD booklet as following:

> Among the western Paiwan the ceremonial chief who conducted the millet ritual played the nose flute; among another Paiwan group it was only played at burials, while the mouth flute was blown during the headhunting dances. The nose flute was obviously a man's instrument played on certain ceremonial occasions before it became an instrument for mere entertainment (Laade, 1991:10-11).

Many of my interlocutors point out that there were no fixed repertoires for Paiwan nose flute and mouth flute playing in the past.[56] In *Brothers Who Sing of Love and Longing* (2012), a documentary produced by Etan Pavavalung, the master artist Pairang Pavavalung remarks that "no one teaches you how to play the flute, it comes from your own ingenuity." Similarly, the elderly player Lemariz Tuvelelem (whose Chinese name is Chiang Chung-Hsin 蔣忠信) recalled that he learned by listening to how other elders (their "teachers") played, emulating their patterns, and asking their elders for feedback (Nian, 1995:43). Likewise the master artist Gilegilau Paqalius emphasizes that the flute playing is all "about individual's own imagination" (*kininemenema*); one can always emulate or add the phrasings and patterns they heard from other people. As such, the music is highly individualized, and its soft timbre requires a serene environment and the close attention of the player as well as the listener. Varying shades of timbre and dynamics are produced by minute differences in breath control and finger techniques.

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[55] Gilegilau Paqalius, December 8, 2016.

[56] According to my conversation with master artist Gilegilau Paqalius and Paiwan music scholar Zhou Ming-Jie.

Because of these individualized characteristics, nose flute and mouth flute playing are often associated with the reminiscence of individual memory or stories.

In order to deal with the relationship between the instrument and racial hierarchy, there is a need to access the historical portrait of the instruments. Historical information about the *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* is based on depictions and descriptions that stem from the eighteenth century, including those from Chinese Qing Empire's expansionism (1683-1895) and Japanese colonization (1895-1945). These early drawings and sources that depict Aborigines playing nose flutes were mainly made by Chinese Qing court officials and travelers and serve as the tangible connections that documented Aboriginal customs. For example, Qing court officer Liu-shi-qi's "*Illustrations of Taiwa*n's *Savage* Villages" (*Fanshe tsaifen tu kao* 番社采風圖考)(1744) and Chen Bishen's "*Illustrations of Savage Customs"* (*Fansutu* 番俗圖) provides descriptions and images of Aboriginal nose flutes (Figure 3.2). These Chinese travel accounts document the nose flutes and their relation to courtship, as well as how the nose flute playing was an integral part of their parties.[57] However, these accounts and illustrations did not specifically document the instrument's structure and which Aboriginal group of people played the nose flutes.

[57]Yu Yonghe (郁永河) provided this account of native courtship in *Pihai jiyou* (裨海紀遊)(1697): "In marriage they have no go-betweens; when the girls are grown, their parents have them live separately in a hut. All the youths who wish to find a mate come along, playing their nose-flutes and mouth-organs…" (Teng, 2004:179).

Figure 3.2: "Drinking Party, Nose Flutes" from Chen Bishen's *Illustrations of Savage Customs* (ca. 1770).[58] Note that there are two people playing nose flutes at the bottom right corner of the illustration.

Previous Japanese literature has shown that the nose flute was used in several Aboriginal groups, including the Paiwan, the Rukai, the Amis, and the Tsou.[59] It is worth noting that Kurosawa Takatomo's musical investigation during 1943 collected numerous repertoires and documented the use of the nose flutes among the Tsou, the Paiwan, and

[58] Photo source, Emma Teng, 2004.

[59] Colonial Japanese musicologist Kurosawa Takatomo's research documented the use of nose flutes among the Paiwan, the Rukai, and the Tsou. Joseph Lenherr points out that the nose flute (one holed pipe with one hole-less pipe) is typical of the Rukai where it corresponds to their polyphonic choir-style (1967:121).

the Rukai (see Table 3.1).[60] According to *Grove Music Online*, the Chinese name *bidi* (nose flute) is a generic term for all flutes of this type; local terms include *dibolo* in Amis and *burari* in Rukai (Thrasher and Lam, 2014). It is evident that the nose and mouth flutes were not exclusively Paiwan instruments. Interestingly, while the Rukai are considered to be highly similar with the Paiwan in terms of language and custom, prevalent cultural discourses in Taiwan today rarely consider thoughtful sorrow or the sense of sadness as part of the Rukai aesthetic.[61]

Village (Group)	**Terms for flutes**	**Restriction**	**Occasion**
Tapangu (Tsou)	*Peingu no ngucu*	No record	Prohibited for courting
Lalauya (Tsou)	*peingu*	No restriction	Prohibited for illness, hunting, and head-hunting
Saviki (Tsou)	*Yupeinga no ngucu*	No restriction	Prohibited during epidemics or hunting
Haisen, gani, Kaohsiung	*tagunugu*	No record	Only allowed when someone passes away
Village in Chishan, Kaohsiung (Paiwan) 高雄旗山郡	*rarigudan*	*mamazangiljan* (nobility) and warriors only	Only allowed for weddings or entertainments; prohibited for a month if someone passes away
Taimali area, Taitung (Paiwan) 台東太麻里地區	*rarigudan*	No record	Allowed for courting

[60] Numerous Japanese scholars documented Aboriginal nose and mouth flutes, including anthropologists Inō Kanori, Asai Erin, and Ushinosuke Mori, and musicologists Tanabe Hisao and Kurosawa Takatomo. It is worth noting that Kurosawa Takatomo's wartime recordings (1943) include two tracks of nose flute playing by the Rukai people.

[61] The Rukai are the second-largest Aboriginal group in Pingtung County. Ethnomusicologist Wang Yin-Feng notes that the nose flute has become the symbol of the Paiwan due to the dissemination of the documentary *Sounds of Love and Sorrow* (2000) produced by Academia Sinica fellow Hu Tai-Li (Wang, 2008:185).

Taromake village, (Rukai)	No record	No record	Only allowed when animals or heads were hunted; elderly males only

Table 3.1: Kurosawa Takatomo's investigation on the use of the nose flute in *The Aboriginal Music of Taiwan* (台湾高砂族の音楽)[62]

The introspective nature, slow tempo, soft timbre of the music, and the static expression of its musicians all contribute to an impression that the music of Paiwan flutes is "sorrowful." Despite the fact that the nose flutes are claimed to be moribund among the Tsou and the Rukai, a small number of Aboriginal flautists continued to practice their music, particularly among the Paiwan people. However, the notion that the nose and mouth flutes are the symbol of the Paiwan was not prominent in the public sphere until the 1990s. Today, Aborigines are prone to characterize the nose and mouth flutes as among the oldest of their instruments. In the following section, I will examine the process of how the sounds of the instruments have been aestheticized into a voice that evokes a sense of loss, love, and thoughtful sorrow, and how these aesthetic components have become a symbol of the Paiwan.

Many factors in the second half of the twentieth century led to a stage where Aborigines and the state sought to revive the instruments: the gradual decline in the number of the Paiwan flute players; social changes such as migration, invasion, acculturation, technological and economic innovations; political influences; and the dissolution of pre-colonial values. Among the local art forms preserved and promoted by the Taiwanese government, Paiwan flutes arguably stand out as one of the most supported of Aboriginal arts because of their age, uniqueness (viewed as associated with the Paiwan polyphonic singing), and nobility in traditional Paiwan society. The

[62] Yasiyungu, 2017: 8-9.

government and domestic scholars selected the nose and mouth flutes as "representative" of the Paiwan. Throughout the 1990s, Taiwan's Council for Cultural Affairs (hereafter referred to as "CCA") collaborated with domestic scholars to conduct a large-scale investigation of local folk arts. In this investigation, Paiwan flutes were listed as part of the Folk Arts Preservation and Transmission Project, and Paiwan musicians were listed as human sources. Coincidently, a series of new publications and performances of Aboriginal Paiwan flutes and songs emerged at this time, using folk music to convey certain aesthetics and values. For instance, *Taiwan Indigenous Voices Bimonthly* (*shanhai wenhua shuan yuekan,* 山海文化雙月刊), one of the most prominent publications on Aboriginal culture at the time, provided an effective discursive space to enunciate the ideal aesthetic and practices of Aboriginal culture and arts. In other words, these practices and publications are not simply the narratives or documentation resulting from the investigations. Rather, they played a significant role in articulating the relationship among the instruments, related aesthetic experiences, and an "ideal Paiwan sound" through media activities and commentaries.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND HERITAGE-MAKING

The concepts of institutionalization and heritage-making provide a useful analytical framework to examine how large-scale investigations and publications reshape the relationship between the instruments and a particular aesthetic experience, thus establishing the uniqueness of Aboriginal ethnicity and cultural values. In discussions of the institutionalization of music, the majority of ethnographies have paid attention to the ways in which music institutions reshape local music practices, such as music schools and academies (Stock, 2004; Hill, 2005; Keegan-Phipps, 2007). However, the force of

institutionalization is not limited to music institutions. Scholars have defined institutionalization as a process through which particular kinds of musical concepts and practices are "grouped and formulated as a genre, as well as the ways in which the genre is integrated into larger systems and managed in institutional settings" (Hsu, 2014:21; Chen, 2016:22). In his analysis of Hakka music in Taiwan, Hsu Hsin-Wen defines institutionalization as the organizational processes through which "particular concepts and practices are selected, adapted, and legitimized as normative categories and structures, integrated and managed in existing or emerging social systems, and maintained or transformed through social actors' performances and interactions" (Hsu, 2014:21). As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett refers to heritage-making as a "value added industry," the process of institutionalization is crucial in shaping how music and musical practices are classified, categorized, conceptualized, standardized, and refashioned in contemporary time (1995).

This institutionalization also involves a heritage-making process in which the state and the Taiwanese society have gradually regarded Paiwan flutes as a legitimate cultural heritage. These state-sponsored investigations during the 1990s adopted a series of museological methods (collection, documentation, preservation, presentation, evaluation, and interpretation) applied to "living persons, their knowledge, practices, artifacts, social worlds, and life spaces" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006: 161). The process is not a mere elevation of the social position and cultural capital of folk music and musicians. More importantly, it also increases educational opportunities and broadens the concept of what folk music is (Hill, 2005:335). With the case of Paiwan flutes in particular, this framework is useful for understanding how music has been used and promoted through a series of organizational activities to facilitate the notion of ethnicity.

THE POLITICS OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The politics of musical instruments specifically offers an analytical lens to examine the multiple frames of stereotyping and heritage-making enterprises. Instruments may serve as powerful material objects to symbolize ethnicities and places where identities are referenced. They may also be usefully conceived as social beings that were produced and maintained in webs of social relations and contested meanings (Qureshi 2000; Wong, 2012:36). In her study of "the social life" of the Accordion, Maria Sonevytsky (2008) considers the musical instrument as an actor in the making of musical meaning, interrogating how instrumentalists consciously manipulate stylistically racialized or classed "codes" to heighten musical affect. In his research on Uyghur *rewap* in modern China, Wong Chuen-Fung argues that the "conspicuous appearances of minority musical instruments" and "the sonic imaginaries invoked" for the Han Chinese audience have provided the state with "useful tools to stereotype minority cultures" (2012:37). Jakovljevic (2012) adopts the concept of "marginality" to examine how the *gajde* bagpipe, its music, and musicians have become marginalized in Serbia during the second half of the twentieth century. Similarly, Regula Qureshi (2000) analyzes how discourses in India have endowed the *sarangi* (a bowed instrument played in Hindustani music) with associations of sadness, loss, and mourning:

> In Western art music discourse, the historicized relationship between an instrument's affective, embodied, and social meanings and the discursive representations of such meanings is what endows an instrument with a standard musical identity…this discourse itself becomes a tool of control, shaped and disseminated by a dominant class. At the same time, it also becomes a doorway to a sentimental education for outsiders to the experiential circle of those embodiments[63]
>
> (Qureshi, 2000:811).

[63] Qureshi points out that association between the *sarangi* and sadness is evidenced in powerful figures such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Indira Gandhi, and Rajiv Gandhi.

All these case studies suggest a framework to examine discourses, practices, and representations surrounding the physical body and sonic imaginaries of the instruments, the ideas about its music, and the musicians. In the case of Paiwan flutes, I suggest that the organizational activities related to *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* not only articulated the relationship between the Paiwan aesthetic and the instruments, but also triggered calls for new repertoires and educational programs along the same line. Overall, this series of organizational activities embedded a particular value to what constituted an ideal "Paiwan sound." While the process of institutionalization often reinforces certain affective and aesthetic values to the instruments, this chapter highlights the importance of gaining a more solid grasp of the relationship between musical sound and affective experience, as well as how the affective experience is defined through a series of discourses and social practices.

REPRESENTING THE PAIWAN ART

Since the 1990s, a growing number of Taiwanese scholarly works and media publications have paid attention to Aboriginal arts. Newly emerged Aboriginal journals such as *Taiwan Indigenous Voices Bimonthly* (*shanhai wenhua shuan yuekan*) address critical issues in Aboriginal culture and arts.[64] Established in 1993, *Taiwan Indigenous Voices Bimonthly* is arguably the first journal dedicated to Aboriginal culture. Its initial goal was to create a discursive forum for promoting the Aboriginal cultural movement, advocating public engagement by Aboriginal people, and "awakening" the Aboriginal

[64] Other publications on Aborigines are *High Mountain Green* (*Gao Shan Qin*, 高山青) during the 1980s, and *Aboriginal News* (*Yuan Bao*, 原報) and *Hunter's Culture* (*Lie Ren Wen Hua*, 獵人文化), *Austronesian Times* (*Nan Dao Shi Bao*, 南島時報) during the early and the mid-1990s. Undoubtedly, these press and journal magazines, whose primary focus on socio-political issues about Aborigines, was crucial in "awakening the Aboriginal subjective consciousness." For the sake of brevity, this chapter focuses on *Taiwan Indigenous Voices Bimonthly*.

subjective consciousness. What is important about *Taiwan Indigenous Voices Bimonthly* is that it has included the articles and local newspapers about Aborigines, which not only documented musical activities (especially the government-sponsored ones) in Aboriginal communities, but also furthered the understanding of Aboriginal music from 1993 to 2000.

As reported in these local newspapers, numerous initiatives of Aboriginal cultural activities around the middle of the 1990s emphasized themes of "tradition," "transmission," and "transition." Many artists at that time interpreted "tradition" or the ancestral past through artistic creations, by means of ceramics, weaving, or carving, and many more interpreted it through music. One of the indications of this intense attention was the sudden increase in the presence of Aboriginal crafts and studios and clubs related to their production and marketing, and the print media has increasingly covered aspects of Aboriginal musical performances and workshops since 1993 (Hsieh, 2004:145).

Among the notable activities on the national scale to promote Aboriginal culture in the middle of the 1990s, there was a series of forums on Aboriginal crafts, arts, and culture named "The Transmission and Development of Taiwan's Aboriginal Culture and Arts" (台灣原住民文化藝術傳承與發展). This series of forums, hosted by *Taiwan Indigenous Voices Bimonthly* in partnership with CCA in 1995, included more than twenty regional forums throughout Taiwan. The series of forums can thereby be regarded as a crucial initiation of musical activities for Aborigines to articulate their "traditions" and highlight their ethnic identity. For instance, more than two hundred Aboriginal "folk artists" (*mingjian yishi*) in a variety of fields participated in this series of forums.[65] Collectively, these forums emphasized the maintaining of pre-colonial beliefs and

[65] According to the appendix in *The Report of The Transmission and Development of Taiwan's Aboriginal Culture and Arts* (台灣原住民文化藝術傳承與發展－系列座談實錄報告書).

practices that are markedly different from those with the impact of modernizing forces attached to commodification and ethnic tourism.[66] These forums and activities constituted a crucial space to stimulate discussions of Aboriginal crafts and arts and facilitate the dissemination of Aboriginal music and instruments, including instrument-making and playing.[67]

While these emerging activities intended to highlight the characteristic of particular Aboriginal groups, there was an increase in the number of the people learning Aboriginal instruments, and some instruments have gradually become representative of particular Aboriginal groups. For instance, the Atayal have taught the mouth-harps (*lubuw*), the Bunun have specialized in the bow harps (*latuk*), and the Paiwan have focused on the nose and mouth flutes.[68] This instrument-ethnicity connection has become a common way of conceptualizing the musical characteristic of each Aboriginal group, which is clearly reflected in Hsu Tsang-Houei's article about Aboriginal music in 1994.[69] In his article, Hsu provided a figure featuring the musical characteristic of each Aboriginal group (Figure 3.3). This representation resonates with the concept of "museum-in-a-book/recording" (Bohlman, 1991:145; Chen, 2007:78), in which scholars' writing and recordings present the specific musical aspects of each Aboriginal group as the museum specimens.

As the activities mentioned above stimulated the debates about Aboriginal music, a number of articles in *Taiwan Indigenous Voices Bimonthly* emphasized the connection

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[66] *The Report of The Transmission and Development of Taiwan's Aboriginal Culture and Arts,* 1996, pp.16.

[67] For instance, World Vision International (世界展望會) invited experts to teach about how to make and play Aboriginal mouth-harps at local middle schools (Hsieh, 2004:146).

[68] See Lu Yu-Shou. 2003. *Taiwan yinyue shi* [Taiwan music history].

[69] See "The Review of the Collection of Taiwan's Aboriginal Music" in *Taiwan's Voice: The Taiwan's Sound Archive*, 1994:13.

between Aboriginal arts, literary compositions, mythologies, and rituals and ceremonies. For instance, Volume 13 of *Taiwan Indigenous Voices Bimonthly* (1996) specifically compiled articles about Paiwan mythologies, songs and meanings for *maljeveq* (five-year ceremonies) in Paiwan Kulalau village, Paiwan flutes (*lalingedan* and *pakulalu*), and the aesthetic of Paiwan arts. Domestic scholars have collaborated with Aboriginal cultural groups or individual artists to conduct investigations, document, and transcribe Aboriginal music. According to these articles, the nose and mouth flutes present the unique style and aesthetics of the Paiwan group. The Paiwan artist Etan Pavavalung points out in his article that the carving patterns on Paiwan sculptures or flutes are related to various Paiwan myths and have their own cultural significance. The Paiwan flute artist Sauniaw Tjuveljevelj also notes that the iconic "double-pipe" structure of Paiwan flutes symbolizes the close relationship among relatives portrayed in Paiwan myths (*milimilingan*). A number of elderly players likewise drew a strong link between the instrument's structure and Paiwan myths. For example, Etan Pavavalung's documentary shows that the sound of double-pipe flutes is conceived to be a metaphor of two Paiwan brothers chanting in Paiwan myths. This metaphor is reflected in the title of Pairang Pavavalung's 2011 album "*Brothers Who Sing of Love and Longing"* (傳唱愛戀的兄弟). In short, Paiwan flutes become an assemblage that enables the ideas within Paiwan myths, aesthetic values, and musical practices to be (re)articulated in various cultural discourses and activities.

Figure 3.3: A figure represents the music of each Aboriginal group in Hsu Tsang-Houei's article in 1994. At the bottom of this figure, an iconic one-pipe nose flute represents the Paiwan group.

The general populace of the Paiwan people then considered the nose and mouth flutes and its music as "ancient" and "unique." Because the flute playing has often been isolated from other Paiwan song-and-dance activities, it became a symbol of the best in Paiwan's own music and a way to counteract influences from Han and pop music imported from the West.

The CCA similarly contributed to this wave of indigenization, reformulated its annual Culture and Arts Festival (*Wenyiji* 文藝季) into a Nationwide Culture and Art

Festival (*Quanguo wenyiji* 全國文藝季) in 1994 (Wang, 2012).[70] At the Nationwide Culture and Art Festival, a series of activities on Paiwan arts, folklore, and culture was held in Pingtung County in 1997 entitled "*Paiwan wenming*" (Paiwan civilization 排灣文明), including song-and-dance performances, folkloric activities, conferences, exhibitions, and workshops. The participants included prominent cultural workers, elders, artists, intellectuals, and scholars in various fields of Paiwan arts and cultural knowledge. In the section on Paiwan music, Vuluk Palimdai (whose Chinese name is Lai Chao-Tsai 賴朝財), who is a church-trained Paiwan pastor and a Paiwan flute player, advocated for the government and cultural workers to examine the specific (perhaps representative) characteristics of Paiwan songs and instrumental music, because "such an examination may reduce the misunderstanding of Paiwan musical style that contemporary musical productions and activities may have imposed on the younger generation."[71] Lamenting how much things have changed since the days of the ancestors, his brief examination on Paiwan music emphasizes the "uncontaminated" music as representative of essentialized Paiwan identities to celebrate the richness of Paiwan culture. In portraying the history of Paiwan culture as one of decay, these Aboriginal intellectuals and practitioners furthered the perception that the most important fact about Aborigines in that era is their overall disenfranchisement, including the loss of their languages, various cultural expressions, and their core aesthetic values. Therefore, academic investigations and publications on Aboriginal music provided an effective voice for Aboriginal actors to legitimize and promote the recognition of their music and related aesthetics.

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[70] The CCA entrusted each cultural center to design its own festival with local characteristics. Through this, cultural centers were mobilized to use local resources and to design programs relevant to local people (Wang, 2012). The National Theatre and Concert Hall also hold the Aboriginal Music and Dance Series, inviting domestic Aboriginal music scholars, such as Ming Li-Guo (明立國), to be the producer for the performances.

[71] It is worth noting that Vuluk later collaborated with Hu Tai-Li's project on Paiwan flutes.

FOLK ART PRESERVATION

From 1995 to 2003, CCA replaced the Ministry of Education (MOE) as the state agency with the leading responsibility to preserve and promote Taiwan's Traditional Arts, initiating the first full-fledged Folk *Arts* Preservation and Training Program (*minjian yishu baochun chuanxi jihua*, 民間藝術保存傳習計畫).[72] The National Center for Traditional Arts (NCFTA) is a subsidiary body under the CCA. Unsurprisingly, the state has privileged some markers of ethnic identity over others, paying attention to those "representative" or "authentic" arts of particular Aboriginal groups for funding. In 1999, 282 Taiwan's Traditional Arts groups applied to the government for a subsidy from the NCFTA, and eleven Aboriginal arts groups gained a subsidy (3.9 per cent).[73] Among the projects in Folk *Arts* Preservation and Training Program, Paiwan flutes and Atayal mouth-harp (*lubuw*) stood out as the best government-supported Aboriginal arts due to its uniqueness. Such ideology normally emphasized the connection between an instrument and an Aboriginal group. They also used the designation of folk artists (*minjian yishi* 民間藝師) to recognize those who taught and advocated for Aboriginal instruments, as well as promoting the instruments as the "valuable traditions" worth learning by the people of each particular Aboriginal group.

The CCA commissioned anthropologist Hu Tai-Li (胡台麗) of Academia Sinica (中央研究院) to carry out a large-scale investigation and the Paiwan Nose and Mouth

[72] In this eight years (1995-2003), the program completed 107 projects, costing approximately 470,000,000 NTD (15,700,000 USD)

[73] These included one Atayal mouth harp education scheme, two Paiwan nose flutes education schemes, two Aboriginal music conferences, one Aboriginal music ethnographic project, two Aboriginal education schemes, two Aboriginal dancing groups, and one Aboriginal music group.

Flutes Preservation Project.[74] The findings were later published (Hu, 2001; Hu, 2003), and released as a CD and the documentary entitled *Sound of Love and Sorrow*. This state-funded investigation and preservation project can be regarded as the precursor of the 2011 designation of National Important Traditional Arts.

Hu led a research team to carry out the first in-depth collection and documentation of the history of Paiwan flutes musicians in Pingtung County. Thirty Paiwan musicians were interviewed, along with the audio-visual documentation of their music, and the collection of their life histories, and mythologies of the instruments. This was the first comprehensive documentation and classification of the structure, techniques, styles, performing occasions, and myths of Paiwan flutes. Its music and performers gained public attention through books, the CD, and the documentary.

Project Name	**Principal investigator(s)**	**Organizer**	**Year(s)**
Paiwan Nose and Mouth Flutes Preservation and transmission Planning Proposal	Hu Tai-Li	Academia Sinica	1995/06~1996/12
Paiwan Nose and Mouth Flutes Preservation Project	Hu Tai-Li	Academia Sinica	1997/01/01~1997/12/31
Atayal Mouth Harp Preservation Project	Hsu Tsang-Houei	Taiwan Aboriginal Music Foundation	1997/04/01~1998/06/30
Bunun Bow Harp Preservation Project	Hsu Tsang-Houei	Taiwan Aboriginal Music Foundation	1997/10/01~1998/06/30

[74]Before the Academia Sinica's commission, Hu has documented and filmed several Aboriginal religious and performative activities, such as the Paiwan five-year ceremony *maljeveq* (1985), *Songs of Pasta'ay* (1989), and *Voices of Orchid Island* (1993).

Atayal Mouth Harp Preservation Project	Hsu Tsang-Houei	Taiwan Aboriginal Music Foundation	1999/09/01~2000/10/15
Paiwan Nose and Mouth Flutes Transmission Project	Hung Wan-Lung; Tsai Tung-Yuan	Cultural Affairs Bureau of Pingtung County	1998/12/01~1999/11/30 ; 2001/01/20~2001/12/20

Table 3.2: Government-funded preservation projects that supported Aboriginal arts from 1995-2003.

In these sources, Hu notes that several Paiwan elders described the sounds of *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* as similar to weeping and leading to the strong emotion of *talimuzau* (translated as "thoughtful sorrow" in English, *ai se* 哀思 in Chinese). Hu further adds that many of her Paiwan informants regarded this particular sonic characteristic as being beautiful (*samiring*). Distinguished from the terms *nanguaq* or *burai* that are used in speaking about general beauty,[75] she claims that *samiring* refers to "unusual beauty with everlasting value" and also "contains the meaning of sorrow, loneliness, surprise and lingering" (2005:165). The aesthetic experience of *samiring* connects people to the ancestral past, creating a kind of wistful feeling, which is expressed by Hu as "thoughtful sorrow" (ibid).

According to Hu's interview with one of the flautists, Tsegav Talulaiats (whose Chinese name is Li Cheng 李正), the term *talimuzau* contains the meaning of yearning for past things (*kinemeneme a varhung*).[76] Based on her interviews with those Paiwan flautists, Hu concludes that the Paiwan emotion of thoughtful sorrow, existing in and starting from the chest (*varhung*), is connected with love and is prevalent in all categories of Paiwan culture. In this ideology, the air (*nasi*) to play the flutes is believed to come out

[75] The term *nanguaq* literally means great things. The term *burai* is used among southern and eastern Paiwan regions. When someone sings well, the Paiwan people would say "*nanquaq a su senai*."
[76] Hu, 2001: 74.

from the chest, and therefore represents the source of life and heart. This idea is reflected in Sauniaw Tjuveljevelj's first album featuring Paiwans flutes and Paiwan songs, which was titled *Nasi*. The album has been recognized as a pioneering work in Taiwan's world/pop music market that promotes the *lalingedan* and the *pakulau* as symbols of the Paiwan.

With this being the case, Hu discursively placed "thoughtful sorrow" as the central component of the Paiwan aesthetic (Hu, 2005:155).[77] Her ideology on this aesthetic value is reflected in her documentary *Sounds of Love and Sorrow*. The film consists mainly of four Paiwan elderly flautists' reminiscent narratives and dialogs about their love and sorrowful stories in the past, and the sound of the flutes is mixed with the narratives and transitions between stories.[78] Hu points out such a sonic character in the CD booklet as following:

> The sound of the flute was the sound of weeping, and that it evokes a sense of sorrow and loss. When Paiwan people hear the sound of the flute, memories and emotions come flooding in, and they recall past loves, lost relatives and former homes… A quavering sound, that imitates the sound of weeping, is highly regarded. For the Paiwan, the closer the sound approaches to weeping, the more beautiful and affecting the music is.
>
> Hu Tai-Li, *Sounds of Love and Sorrow*

In the film, Hu also consciously reinforced the connection between thoughtful sorrow and the origin myths that contained the symbols of love, beauty, and status in early Paiwan society. She did so by repeatedly showing the footage of the following iconic Paiwan images: the *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper (*vulung,* which is considered the divine protector of villages), the sun, the clay pot, and the Hodgson's hawk eagle (ibid).

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[77] These publications include *Paiwan Nose and Mouth Flutes* (2000) and the documentary *Sounds of Love and Sorrow* (2000).

[78] These Paiwan flautists are Pairang Pavavalung, Lemariz Tuvlelem, Tsegav Talulaiats.

These motifs are all closely associated with *mamazangiljan* (nobility) in early Paiwan society. Today, many Paiwan members believe that the sound of the nose flute imitates the sound that snakes make by blowing through their up-turned noses. The footage of snakes in the film clearly reflects their symbolic standpoint: various forms of the nose and mouth flutes and their sounds symbolize the sacred snakes and the "deep and traditional" sense of beauty.

In her later publication on the interpretation of the Paiwan aesthetic (2011), Hu further connected *talimuzau* to various cultural aspects of the Paiwan: motifs of antique glass beads and costumes; the *iaqu* sung in *maljeveq.* All of these forms, in Hu's view, connect the Paiwan people to their ancestral past, creating a kind of wistful feeling, the aesthetic experience of *talimuzau*. From the perspective of sounds, Hu points out that Paiwan myth storytelling (*milimilingan*) is typically performed in a weeping-like tone that resembles funeral laments (*cemangit*), and Paiwan flutes have traditionally been used as accompaniment to both vocal genres rather than for folk songs in general (Hu, 2011:72). Such an effort to link instruments, mythologies, and aesthetic conceptualizations of sounds resonates with Steven Feld's analysis of the Kaluli's integrated relationship to weeping, songs, local mythology about birds, and the sounding environment of the rainforest and waterfalls (Feld, 2012 [1982]).[79] Feld illustrates how the Kaluli expressive modalities of weeping and songs are "culturally constituted by performance codes that both actively communicate deeply felt sentiments and reconfirm mythic principles" (2012 [1982]: 14). While it is clear that Hu's work is inspired by Feld in terms of how the sounds constitute socially meaningful expressions (ibid:88), we

[79] Tan Shzr-Ee also points out the divination of birds in the music of Amis group in Taiwan (Tan, 2012:55).

should ask how the affective experience became a norm and have been transformed/translated into a contemporary concept.

AFFECTIVE AND AESTHETIC IDEOLOGY

The questions remain: why is the emphasis so strongly oriented toward love, loss, and sorrow? What actions and ideas constitute the ideology of sorrowful emotion in Paiwan groups today? In many cases, the discourse and practices of folklore illustrate the transformation of rural Aborigines' culture by heightening certain aesthetic expression for the service of folklorists. This is evident when the government's Folk Art Projects attempt to "elevate" local musical practices to the so-called "Folk Arts." Later scholars and the government's investigative reports also discursively framed Hu as an early representative of scholarship on Paiwan flutes and as a scholar who advocated for the aesthetic values of Aboriginal arts in Taiwan. In this regard, these early ethnographic writing and documentary film may lead to a partial aestheticization of both the term *talimuzau* and the people and experiences that it seeks to represent. I argue that the music investigations and publications since the 1990s have reinforced the association between the flutes' musical image and the Paiwan's aesthetic of particular sadness, loss, and sorrow.

Ethnomusicologists and anthropologists have broadly discussed how musical sound and particular sonic characteristics are evolved to index certain emotions. Keith Howard noted that sorrowful and sad songs, which gave rise to the basic Korean singing technique, reflect "poverty, disease, overwork, desertion and lost love" (2014). Nicholas Harkness's case study on Korean *songga* (hymns) indicates that "older" Korean styles of vocal production are characterized by Korean Christians as inherently sad, even if the

denotational content of the song was humorous or light-hearted (Harkness, 2013:202). Likewise, the ideology that characterized the sound of the instruments as sorrowful pervade today's cultural discourses on Paiwan flutes.

As music emotives can be claimed to define an affectual ethnic self (Stokes, 2017), it is important to examine how the narratives of affect are internalized by members of the Aboriginal group as markers of their own identity. Ethnomusicologist Chen Chun-Bin points out that an "imposed habitus" has been exhibited among Taiwan's Aborigines when Aboriginal practitioners represent themselves as a passionate and "happy-go-lucky ethnic group" (2007:77). Chen considers this "imposed habitus" as a driven force that performs a function in "facilitating the absorption of elements brought by outside forces" and in "reshaping the Aborigines' musical practices" through the dissemination of early Aboriginal pop-music cassettes and Aboriginal tourist song-and-dance performance (ibid). This process of inculcating imposed habitus can be regarded as a way of how non-Aboriginal discourse has molded Aborigines' perceptions of themselves. Similarly, the impression of thoughtful sorrow as the symbol of the Paiwan group can be imposed and reinforced via the dissemination of recordings, documentary films, and publications. Hu's initial intention for making the documentary was to capture the representative component of the Paiwan aesthetic. While there are some other sentiments that are expressed through different vocal and instrumental sound patterns, what Hu emphasized is that the "thoughtful sorrow" (*talimuzau*) is most thoroughly embodied in the sound forms of Paiwan flutes as the very heart of an aesthetically coded sentiment.

Instead of arguing that the "thoughtful sorrow" did not exist in the cultural expression of the Paiwan, my point here is that documentation and publication play a crucial role in promoting both public and community knowledge and awareness of the

significance of a music genre or an instrument.[80] I am convinced that Hu's work is central in the dissemination of the idea that *talimuzau* is the core aesthetic value of Paiwan flutes to be promoted. Paiwan people, likewise, may have consciously incorporated the discourse from these scholarly publications to legitimatize what they practice. This situation is reminiscent of the case among the Uyghur in northwestern China, in which becoming a minority stereotype "is not only about being subservient"; it is also about "adopting a subaltern subjectivity with social practices and aesthetic codes that mediate among traditional practice, state-framed modernity, and a sense of minority belonging" (Wong, 2012:48).

One of the reasons that Paiwan flute music is believed to be the aestheticized sonic image of sadness and sorrow is because of its particular techniques. Indeed, several Paiwan flautists' playing featured a particularly intense vibrato (*migeregereger*) and a smooth *glissando*—produced by sliding the fingers off or onto the holes—that are known as the distinct sonic profile of the Paiwan.[81] In our conversation, Gilegilau Paqalius noted that such techniques of intense vibrato and *glissando* feature an emphasis on the "weeping-like sounds" (*aung*). In the documentary *Brothers Who Sing of Love and Longing* (2012), Peleng Rupunayan (Pairang Pavavalung's wife) points out that the favored sound of the flute that particularly "makes you fall in love with it" is called *qatarengeran*, which is a sliding-like stylized tone that elders described as beautiful. Peleng further elaborated that they also sing or hum like *qatarengeran*, and "it expresses a kind of longing." Pairang Pavavalung also emphasizes the importance of the stylized sliding technique to make the flute's sound beautiful (Tseng, 2015: 88).

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[80] According to my conversations with numerous Paiwan people, Hu's film and publications on Paiwan flutes are considered a significant contribution.

[81] Hu states that the sonic characters of such unique vibrato and sliding are the key to create the weeping-like sound (Hu, 1996:36).

However, according to my personal communication with Paiwan music scholar Zhou Ming-Jie, these particular techniques are just the ways in which those elderly players expressed their love and feelings in the past. Saying that those players "deliberately" use these techniques to convey the "thoughtful sorrow," he claims, would be to do them a violence. Zhou was more critical on the documentary *Sounds of Love and Sorrow*, expressing the concern that depicting "thoughtful sorrow" as the core value of the flutes' sound may convey a misleading message that all the Paiwan musicking is immersed in such a sorrowful emotion. Paiwan flute playing, in his opinion, typically does not express certain kinds of emotion as the content. Rather, he considers it an "ambience" that evokes listeners' own feelings at the moment.[82] In his dissertation "Tradition and Transition: A Research on the Vocal Music of Paiwan" (2012a), Zhou did not specifically address *talimuzau* as the central component of Paiwan musical aesthetic. Rather, he briefly introduced Paiwan flute playing as "a form of self-expression that resembles a metaphor of one's mind" (ibid.).

To simply label the music of Paiwan flutes as "sorrowful" or any other singular category would be arbitrary. First, human hearing is "phenomenally fluid," affecting the listener's aesthetic experience (Elliot, 2000: 86). Nian Siou-Ling, a Paiwan member who assisted in the 1995 Preservation Project of Paiwan flutes, followed a similar line of description. In her article, Nian states that the elderly Paiwan flautist Lemariz Tuvlelem always played identical or similar tunes on various occasions, including courtship and funerals.[83] While the elderly players used to play their habitual tunes or patterns, what evokes certain affect and emotive, in this case, is relied on individual attachments to memories of particular sound patterns, or appreciations of personal response to the

[82] Personal interview, Pingtung, August 10, 2017.
[83] Nian, 1995:44.

musical expression of emotions they cognize (ibid). Second, musicians have the agency to "locate entire emotional spectrums in musical meaning" (Gill, 2017:7). According to Pairang Pavavalung, the Paiwan flute playing can be inspired by various emotions and feelings, including cheerful, sorrowful, and grateful ones. He suggests that the musical emotion actually relies on the individual's interpretation and presentation at that moment (Tseng, 2015:81). In this regard, to over-emphasize "sorrow" as the major affective experience of the Paiwan may to some extent essentialize the Paiwan people as an emotional other in contrast to other ethnic groups.

One should also note that to flatten the term *talimuzau* by translating it as "thoughtful sorrow" may lead to a generalization that erases the multivalent nature of affect. In her study of Turkish classical musicians, Denise Gill points out that "Turkish classical musicians are incredibly articulate about the mobile oscillation between happiness and sadness, pleasure and pain" (2017:190). Melancholy, Gill argues, "is possible only in the presence of love, which confers meaning to loss, pain, and suffering" (ibid). This resonates with what Martin Stokes called the "untranslatability" of affective ambivalence (2017: 25), through which he addresses the inability to coin an appropriately translated word for a certain affective experience. When publications and media production have inculcated people with the expectation to recognize "thoughtful sorrow" as an affective Paiwan aesthetic, we need to take into account such affective ambivalence and how partial translation may result in a different understanding of affective dimension of musical identity.

CONTEMPORARY CONCEPT OF PAIWAN FLUTES

Nowadays, discourses about the sorrowfulness of Paiwan flutes are indeed pervasive. However, academic investigative reports and publications on *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* in Taiwan before the 2000s show that the sorrowful titles were not widely adopted as a part of the referencing experience by most audio recordings and publications. These song titles or liner notes to some extent manifest certain modes of classifying Paiwan music and artists. Most of the writings and recordings before the 2000s classified Aboriginal music by its social function or musicological characteristics of homophonic, harmonic, and polyphonic textures.[84] This followed the legacy of the classification from early Japanese and Han ethnomusicologists who classified songs and added titles for research consistency. For example, the album *Polyphonies Vocales Des Aborigènes De Taiwan (Vocal Polyphonies of Taiwanese Aborigines*), released in 1989 by the Chinese Folk Arts Foundation and produced by Hsu Tsang-Houei, includes two songs featuring Paiwan singing with the accompaniment of a double-pipe mouth flute played by Pairang Pavavalung.[85] These two tracks were labeled "*Chant de seduction"* (Song of seduction) based on its social function of courtship. Later, the 1994 album *The Songs of the Paiwan Tribe, The Music Of Aborigines On Taiwan Island, Vol. 7,* recorded and produced by ethnomusicologist Wu Rung-Shun as part of a set of eight CDs featuring music of eight different Aboriginal groups, included one track played by Pairang Pavavalung titled "Double-pipe nose flute solo." Similarly, the book *Bentu yinyue de chuanchan yu xinshan* (The Transmission and Appreciation of Native Music), published

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[84] There are several CDs described as Aboriginal music based on its social function or musicological characteristics of homophonic, harmonic, and polyphonic textures. Examples include *The Songs of the Paiwan Tribe, The Music of Aborigines on Taiwan Island, Vol. 7* (1994).

[85] France- and Japan-trained Taiwanese ethnomusicologist Hsu Tsang-Houei escorted a troupe of Aborigines on a performance tour of Europe in 1988. A recording of the performance in Paris was made. The album *Polyphonies Vocales Des Aborigènes De* Taiwan compiled selections from the recording of this performance and Hsu's other field recordings in 1978 as part of a folksong collection project (Tan, 2012).

by National Traditional Arts Center in 2000, compiled chapters and recordings of representative "traditional" Han and Aboriginal music in Taiwan. In the section featuring the music of the Paiwan group, one track played by Camak Paqalius is titled "Nose flute solo." Another example can be seen in Hu's book and CD *Paiwanzu de bidi yu kodi* (Paiwan Nose flutes and Mouth Flutes) published in 2001, in which all twenty tracks were labeled based on the structure of instruments (e.g., "The song of double-pipe nose flute"). In short, the music of Paiwan flutes was rarely labeled or titled as conveying a sense of sorrow, loss, or sadness before the release of Hu's work. The notion of "thoughtful sorrow" had perhaps not been prioritized as an essential component of the Paiwan aesthetic in investigators' and scholars' classification framework.[86]

Album	**Track title(s)**	**Producer(s)**	**Year**
Taiwan genju minzoku Takasagozoku no ongaku (Taiwan Aboriginal Music)[disc 3]	"A Solo of the Vertical Flute"	Lu, Bin-Chuan	1977
A special album of Chinese folk music, Vol. 11: Taiwan Aboriginal Music – The Tsou, the Paiwan, the Saisiyat, the Yami, and the Plain Aborigines	"A Solo of the Vertical Flute"	Hsu, Tsang-Houei Lu, Bin-Chuan	1980
*Polyphonies Vocales Des Aborigènes De Taiwan (*Vocal Polyphonies of Taiwanese Aborigines)	"*Chant de seduction"* (Song of seduction)	Hsu, Tsang-Houei	1989

[86] In fact, some of the Paiwan recordings in vinyl records during the 1960s featured Chinese song titles that do not particularly contain themes of love or sorrow. Ring Ring Record, a Taiwanese local record label, produced many vinyl records of Aboriginal folk songs during the 1960s. For instance, the song "*iluwananayau"* (FL958-2405) was translated as "*Chui di huanxing*" (literally "Awakening with the flute playing" 吹笛喚醒), which features a Paiwan folk song with the accompaniment of the mouth flute. It is worth noting that many of the Paiwan song titles are non-lexical syllables (as discussed in Chapter Two), so they were translated into Chinese based on either its social functions or auditory experiences. For example, "Wedding song," "Love song," and "Song of Harvest Festival" (FL-957A~FL-959B).

The Songs of the Paiwan Tribe, The Music Of Aborigines On Taiwan Island, Vol. 7	"Double-pipe nose flute solo"	Wu, Rung-Shun	1994
Bentu yinyue de chuanchan yu xinshan (The Transmission and Appreciation of Native Music)	"Nose flute solo"	National Traditional Arts Center	2000
Paiwanzu de bidi yu kodi (Paiwan Nose flutes and Mouth Flutes)	e.g., "The song of double-pipe nose flute"	Hu, Tai-Li	2001

Table 3.3: Recordings of Paiwan flutes and titles before 2001.

However, there has been an upsurge in song titles that are associated with sadness, love, or sorrow in albums since the 2000s, despite the fact that many tracks share similar melodic patterns to the earlier ones. A number of CD liner notes often portrayed the "sorrowful sound" as the sonic profile of Paiwan flutes. The album *Zuyun yueyan: shibanwu shan de bidi* (The Nose Flute on the Slate House), issued in 2002, included one track featuring the nose flute played by Lemariz Tuvlelem named "*Jimuo ze ge*" (The Song of Loneliness 寂寞之歌). Interestingly, a highly similar rendition by Lemariz can be heard in Hu's 2001 CD even though it is labeled "The song of double-pipe nose flute." In the national preservation and transmission project of Paiwan flutes since 2011, the two master artists Pairang Pavavalung and Gilegilau Paqalius have included several transmission repertoires whose titles express loss, love, and sorrow. Many of these repertoires are included in Pairang Pavavalung's album *Chuan chan ai lien de xiong di* [Brothers Who Sing of Love and Longing]. All of its eleven CD tracks have named titles, and many of them express a sense of loss, love, or sorrow.[87] It is worth noting that a number of the songs in his album are actually Paiwan folk tunes originally named with Paiwan non-lexical syllables such as "*quljimai*" and "*qai-lja-ljai*," but added the Chinese

[87] For example, these song titles include "Musical Love Notes," "Admiring the Beauty of your Countenance," and "Brother Who Sing of Love and Longing."

and English translated titles that explicitly express those emotions. These Chinese and English titles for the CD tracks can be regarded as a consequence of the process of aestheticization. A look at some titles gives a sense of the prevalence of these themes:

"*Quljimai*" (As Joyous as a Blooming Flower, 歡悅像盛開的花)
"*Qai-lja-ljai*" (Admiring the Beauty of your Countenance, 戀慕你的容顏你的美麗)
—Pairang Pavavalung

"*Masadjusudju a lalingedan*" (Loving the Paiwan flutes, 戀慕排灣笛)
—Sauniaw Tjuveljevelj

When the music was canonized as the idealized style of Paiwan flutes, regional and national governmental organizations began to initiate musical activities and invite representative artists to teach their arts. For instance, regional and national governmental agencies have increasingly organized the transmission and promotion projects and have invited several artists to teach Paiwan flutes at numerous local Paiwan communities, Aboriginal middle and elementary schools, and workshops for Aboriginal teachers in elementary and middle schools.[88] This impact is reminiscent of similar occurrences in Scandinavia, in which institutionalization "disseminated the ideology (beliefs, values, ambitions) of a few to a new generation of young musicians" (Hill, 2005:25). More recently, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage has continuously held workshops of Paiwan flutes, Atayal mouth harps, and Amis ceramics since 2009 because they are "important

[88] According to Hu, the project encompassed three middle schools and six elementary schools with the majority Paiwan students in Pingtung County (Hu, 1996:39).

symbols to highlight the impression of each ethnic group."[89] Collectively, these activities relied on the promotion of normative images about Paiwan (or other groups) identity: a "virtuous Paiwan" should venerate the ancestors by learning Paiwan flutes, should sing for them in Paiwan dialect, and should lift up the community by celebrating the "traditional" values and aesthetics.

Much revival is also about reformulating and controlling aesthetics. An upsurge in new musical productions, marketing materials (flyers, concert programs, social media), and publications uses this new emblem to romanticize, localize, and historicize the image of Paiwan music. Several contemporary Aboriginal artists or music groups, ranging from folk troupes to pop bands, describe the sound of nose and mouth flutes as weeping, using the image of flutes to symbolize the Paiwan people and arouse a sense of longing for their ancestral past. According to my personal conversation with some Aboriginal band members, they prefer nose flutes as an accompaniment to a speech-like ancestral recitative or as the background music if a "longing ambience" for a performance is called for.[90] Since the musical image has resonated well with icons of depth, weeping, and longing, performers have used the instruments to portray the feeling of "sadness" and "antiquity." One of the most prominent examples of this is evident in a series of events and productions organized around the main theme of the snake. For instance, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage issued a picture book of Paiwan nose flute "*Minasi*" (two nose holes breathe together) in 2017. Through this picture book, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage aimed to create a new emblem for Paiwan flutes so that general Taiwanese readers are exposed to the origin stories and aesthetic of Paiwan flutes. It is worth noting that the book constantly emphasizes the "sorrowful tune" as the stylized characteristic of Paiwan

[89] https://academy.ceramics.ntpc.gov.tw/zh-tw/Course/C/2/3/17/9587.htm. The English translation is mine.
[90] According to my personal communication with the members of Aboriginal band *Macau*.

flutes.[91] The aestheticization of Paiwan flutes has therefore been recontextualized into the new generation through a series of transmission and promotion projects, and the music of *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* has been publicized as a representative form of Paiwan art worth learning by the Paiwan people and appreciated by the general audience.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, music investigations and publications contribute to institutionalization and heritage-making. From systematic collection and documentation to living persons' musical knowledge and practices, these music-related publications, activities, and practices are not separate. Rather, I suggest that these investigations and publications did more than neutrally document; they reconstructed partially lost performance genres, promoted certain aesthetic values as a symbol of a particular ethnic group, and encouraged potential practitioners to return to what they had proposed as original forms (Howard, 2014:138). Once a process of aestheticization and institutionalization has reinforced the impression of the instruments as a Paiwan symbol, Aboriginal actors may incorporate the discourses from these scholarly publications to legitimatize what they practice, and adapt the instruments and music in various ways. In other words, Aboriginal intellectuals, flautists, and practitioners have participated in a feedback loop with academic publications and popular discourse, furthering the aesthetic ideology of the instruments. Through a close examination of affective dimension of Aboriginal Paiwan flutes, this chapter provides an alternative scene of how

[91] For instance, the book mentions that Paiwan men typically play the "sorrowful and lonely tune" to move the hearts of their beloved.

institutionalization and heritage-making may further the aesthetic and affective ideology surrounding the instruments of indigenous peoples.

While the process of institutionalization and the work of scholars have played a significant role in the making of intangible cultural heritage, it is also worth wondering how these Aboriginal actors react to such cultural production in contemporary time. How do those who are outside the purview of state intervention react to this series of cultural production? How do Aboriginal actors adapt the instruments in different ways? In the following chapter, I analyze these questions in my discussion on the transmission plans of National Important Traditional Arts and the negotiation in the soundscapes of Paiwan music since 2011.

Chapter 4: Becoming National Cultural Property: Sound, Body, and Material of Paiwan Flutes

In the winter of 2017 passengers landing at the Taiwan Taoyuan International Airport were greeted with a window exhibition of Taiwan's national intangible cultural heritage. This exhibition reflects the government's recent active role in Taiwan's cultural heritage making. One of the windows exhibited Aboriginal Paiwan nose flutes (*lalingedan*) and mouth flutes (*pakulalu*), which were declared to be National Important Traditional Arts by Taiwan's Council for Cultural Affairs in 2011. This national-level recognition of local practice as National Important Traditional Arts imbues the implied artistic value that emphasizes the distinct ethnic Paiwan heritage. Through a series of discourses and promotional activities, Paiwan flutes and their music have been constructed as a national cultural property in which related forms of knowledge, skills, and practices are often portrayed as a "possession" of the Paiwan group. This institutional recognition publicized Paiwan flutes as a form of "authentic Paiwan performing art" worth learning by Paiwan people and appreciated by general Taiwanese.

Interestingly, almost all the Paiwan flautists with whom I work, including both nationally designated master artists Pairang Pavavalung and Gilegilau Paqalius and their apprentices, do not consider themselves full-time professional musicians, as most of them pursue their performing alongside their other works. Neither do most Paiwan members consider these flautists merely "flautists," despite their abundant local performing experience. This does not mean that Paiwan members do not respect these flautists' skill, crafts, and artistic attainments. Rather, the flautist involves a number of different roles that are also closely connected with his role as a player. These include being a wood or bamboo carver (able to make his own instruments), and being knowledgeable about local custom and knowledge (in order to locate and find adequate sources for making

instruments), as well as folk singing and native language. This view and attitude resonate strongly with the "holistic perspective" of Intangible Cultural Heritage, in which certain cultural heritage or traditional knowledge is indivisible into a single category (Perlman, 2011).

The crafts of Paiwan flute-making and playing remain at the core of revival today. Most of Paiwan flautists are both players and flute makers. For example, Pairang Pavavalung was recognized by the Bureau of Cultural Heritage for his delicate skills in making Paiwan flutes, in addition to his playing skills. Also, his fine craftsmanship has produced a number of iconic Aboriginal artifacts and items, including "traditional flutes, bronze knives, bows, and a variety of accessories and carvings."[92] In fact, the Pavavalung family is renowned for their artisanal lineage of cultivating *pulima*, a Paiwan word referring to individuals with subtle, highly developed craft skills.[93] It is also worth noting that there is no equivalent word to "art" in the Paiwan language.

This chapter examines how this particular form of craftsmanship became a key site of contestation in the contemporary national transmission project of Paiwan flutes. I begin with a general discussion of the formation of the intangible cultural heritage system in Taiwan and outline the context of the transmission of Paiwan flutes. I then draw upon the recent ethnomusicological literature on the new organology and craftsmanship in considering the instrument and all of its senses in the transmission of cultural knowledge. Viewing from this perspective, I suggest that the instruments entail ontological components of musical practices—material knowledge, craftsmanship, aesthetics, techniques—that the practitioners deem constitutive of the ideas of Paiwan-ness in

[92] https://english.moc.gov.tw/information_235_88537.html. The English translation is mine.
[93] https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/3499270. The Pavavalung family also holds their first art exhibition "Pakialalang" in Pingtung Sandimen Indigenous Museum and Taiwan Indigenous People Cultural Park in 2018.

contemporary transmission. Finally, I explore some of the local practices of transmission that happen on the ground, discuss how the craftsmanship of flute-making and playing became institutionalized, and demonstrate how practitioners negotiate with the government mandate of preservation.

PAIWAN FLUTES AND CULTURAL HERITAGE PROTECTION ACT

The concept of "intangible cultural heritage" in Taiwan, rendered in Chinese as *wenhua zichan* (cultural heritage 文化資產), emerged largely in response to the terms and concepts in international heritage management (especially the Japanese and UNESCO systems) and the perceived threat of globalization to Taiwanese cultural identity. Taiwan's government promulgated the Cultural Heritage Protection Act (hereafter referred to as CHPA) in 1982 in order to investigate and preserve local "traditional arts." Based on the models established in Japan and South Korea, the legislation of CHPA was first focused on "Ethnic/National arts" and "Folk customs and related artifacts." Despite the fact that Taiwan is not a member of the United Nations, the CHPA followed the trend of UNESCO in recent years; the second comprehensive revision in 2016 adopted the dichotomy of tangible heritage and intangible heritage.

Scholars have argued that the process of heritage-making often involves how we identify particular knowledge, practices, artifacts, and life space (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1995). Taiwan's CHPA defines the mechanism of nominating national cultural heritage, in which a government committee investigates and registers potential forms of heritage. Under CHPA's basis, the heritage-making involves social construction in which "knowledge and art in relation to a form of cultural practice are portrayed as special property of [a] particular family, ethnic group, and geographic region, or as public goods

that is (sic) available for access by all members of a community, a nation, or the international society" (Hsu, 2016:67).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Paiwan flutes arguably stand out as one of the best-supported forms of Aboriginal art by the government. However, Aboriginal arts were not included for safeguarding in the scope of CHPA until the 2000s. The first revision of CHPA in 2005 introduced the major change in local government's approach to cultural heritage.[94] In particular, this impact is evidenced by the Pingtung County government's active role in promoting Aboriginal culture. In 2008, the Pingtung County government registered "Paiwan nose flutes and mouth flutes" as a local significant cultural heritage.[95] At the national level, the Council of Cultural Affair registered Paiwan flutes as a "National Important Traditional Art," declaring Pairang Pavavalung and Gilegilau Paqalius (Figure 4.1) as holders of the Traditional Art in 2011 due to the following reasons:

> 1. The instruments reflect the social organization, life style, musical characteristics, and the crafting art in traditional Paiwan society.
> 2. The music contains the cultural property of ethnic folk singing, which is considered valuable and endangered.
> 3. The nominated holders are representative in the traditional arts and crafts (Ministry of Culture, 2011).[96]

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[94] According to Article 59 of the 2005 revision of CHPT, "Traditional arts, folk customs and related cultural artifacts shall be reviewed, registered and publicly declared by the municipal or county/city competent authority, and shall be reported to the central competent authority for recording."

[95] The county government continuously registered Legeai Tjaudada (Jing Xien-Ren 金賢仁) and Camak Paqalius (Cheng Wei-Yei 鄭尾葉) in 2009, Pairang Pavavalung (Hsu Kun-Chung 許坤仲) and Gilegilau Paqalius (Hsieh Shui-Neng 謝水能) in 2010, and Sauniaw Tjuveljevelj in 2011 as the preservers of Paiwan nose flutes and mouth flutes.

[96] The English translation is mine. National Cultural Heritage Database Management System, https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/assets/overview/traditionalPerformingart/20110825000003, accessed August 1, 2018.

Figure 4.1: National designated holders of Paiwan flutes Pairang Pavavalung (left) and Gilegilau Paqalius (right).

These above criteria resonate with the prevalent assertion that Paiwan flutes are worthy of revival because it is a "distinct," "pure," and "ancient" Paiwan aesthetic practice. Since 2009, the transmission of National Important Traditional Arts has been implemented through the Program of Preservation and Transmission (hereafter referred to as Transmission Plans) for National Important Traditional Arts.[97] The original purpose of Transmission Plans is to maintain the artisanal practices of master artists—the ways in which the music is supposed to be presented and played based on the masters' principles. Based on CHPA, both *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* are registered in the category of "Traditional Performing Arts" (see Figure 4.2).[98] However, according to several practitioners, the transmission of Paiwan flutes also includes instrument-making, related

[97] According to Article 92 of CHPA: "The competent authorities shall draft plans for preservation of intangible cultural heritage, and shall closely document, teach about or take appropriate measures for preservation and conservation of intangible cultural heritage that is on the verge of disappearing."
[98] Article 3 of CHPA defines "Traditional Performing Arts" as "a traditional art that is created in front of or presented to an audience by the artist to pass down through generations among ethnic groups or geographic regions."

myth storytelling, and insider ecological knowledge, which are all relevant to other domains as well. Despite the fact that the Bureau of Cultural Heritage has increasingly recognized the role of instrument-making and related crafts within Transmission Plans, the government's standpoint is primarily to promote the "authentic" performance of Paiwan flutes.[99]

How does the emphasis on "performing arts" in current Taiwan's legal terms overlook the Paiwan flautists' role as a craftsman, especially when the integrated role of maker–player still remains? The forms of heritage are constantly changing in accordance with practitioners' needs. A committee of Transmission Plans, which comprises domestic scholars and agents of BCH, typically visits each protecting group or individual artist to inspect how Transmission Plans may be adjusted in accordance with the characteristics and developments of the Traditional Art. To understand *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* in their current phase of revival as national cultural heritage, it is therefore necessary to gain a more solid grasp of its diverse manifestations and how the heritage is defined through a series of discourses and social practices at the local level.

[99] This ideology can be illustrated by the fact that those examinations were implemented in staged format performances rather than a demonstration or documentation of instrument-making.

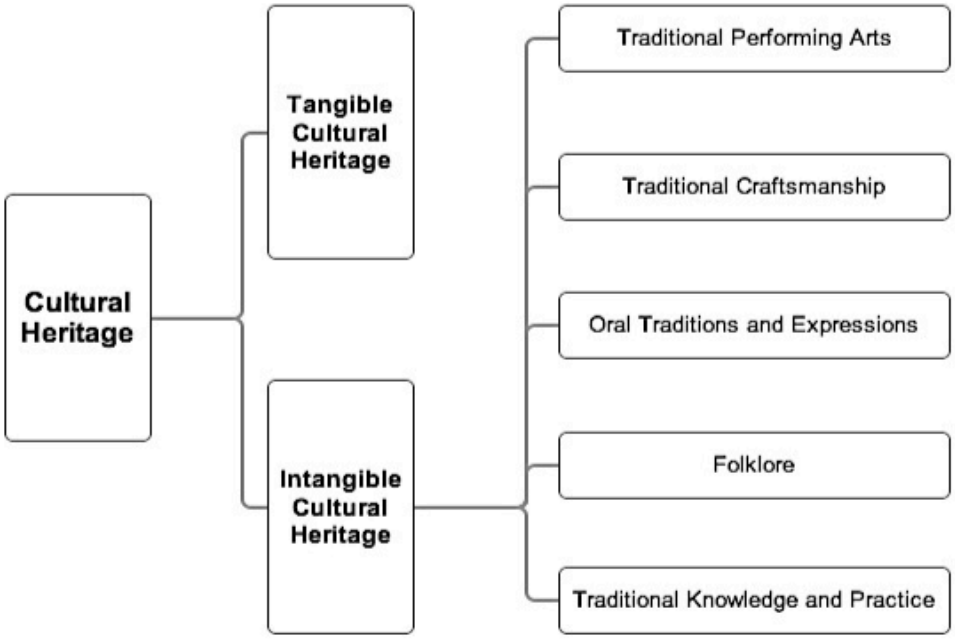

Figure 4.2: The state's classification of Cultural Heritage based on CHPA.

NEW ORGANOLOGY AND CRAFTSMANSHIP

A growing body of scholarship on instruments has argued that an instrument is not merely an object or a "finished" product of crafting, but a crucial site that entails related knowledge, practices, embodiment, and memory (Qureshi, 2001; Downey, 2002; Wong, 2012). New approaches to instruments also include those that emphasize the agency of instruments as social actors (Dawe, 2003; Bates, 2012; Roda, 2015), and those that adopt the notion of craftsmanship to examine the interconnectedness of the ideological, aesthetic, and technical aspects (Jakovljevic, 2012; Tucker, 2016). Other scholars have recounted how UNESCO's ICH safeguarding reshaped the relationship between practitioners and particular instruments (Yung, 2009). This trend calls for a new organology that "replaces the traditional typological or taxonomical project of organology with an ethnographically motivated examination of a specific musical

instrument in a particular social context" (Sonevytsky, 2008:103), supplementing a critique of the influential Hornbostel-Sachs model (defined by categorization sound-making properties) with a variety of indigenous perspectives (Agawu, 2016:67). While previous scholarship on Taiwan's Aboriginal instruments mostly adopted Hornbostel-Sachs model of instrument classification (Lenherr, 1967; Lu, 1982; Hsu, 1994; Wu, 1999), I urge a close attention to the Paiwan idea of the flutes and the particular ways they approach the instruments.

Sennett's notion of craftsmanship testifies more eloquently to "provisional encounters between bodies and materials" than to "the triumph of human ingenuity" (Sennett, 2008; Tucker, 2016:330). Rejecting the notion that craftsmanship is a mere mechanical activity requiring nothing more than the following of instructions, Sennett suggests that it is at the level of mastery in which "people can feel fully and think deeply what they are doing once they do it well" (2008: 20). Craftsmanship, he argues, is "the desire to do a job well for its own sake," and considers practical knowledge, crafts, and specific experience to be correlated. Recent ethnographies on instruments have resonated with this notion of craftsmanship. Instrument maker-players, as craftsmen, engage material, social, and cultural realms through the construction of their instruments (Dawe, 2003; Roda, 2015). In the process of engaging with the instruments, Dawe notes that practitioners have to learn musical techniques and repertoires, as well as acquire the necessary mental and physical dexterity (Dawe, 2003:279). Jakovljevic defines craft as "a condition in which the process of experience and knowledge are perplexed, thus forming the specific environment in which music is created" (2012:126). Likewise, Tucker draws attention to the making and playing of the *chinlili,* a Peruvian Andean indigenous guitar, arguing that indigenous Andean musicians "reproduce sonorities and bodily habits that

the older man and his peers deposited in the instrument," as they "adapted it to suit their aesthetic needs" (Tucker, 2016: 336).

Although previous scholarship that privileges the voices and musical sound has often divided instrument making and playing into two separate domains, many indigenous instruments are actually made by their players themselves. Examples of these instruments are the Native American flute (Conlon, 2014) and the Australian Aboriginal *didjgeridu* (Hudson with Tietjen, 1997), just to name a few. My approach to craftsmanship surrounding *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* is in line with this thread of scholarship. Instruments entangle the craftsmanship of making and playing that are embodied and featured in musical practice. Viewed from this perspective, musical instruments can be a nexus of music, embodiment, and acoustic identity, as they embody how tangible and intangible crafts are interconnected.

CRAFTS AND MATERIALS

A brief background of the history and physical structure of the instruments is useful for understanding how their materiality mediated discourses surrounding them. During my fieldwork, I discovered that the construction of Paiwan flutes varies depending on the region or village. To examine the intersection of instrument-making and musical practice, I mainly worked with three maker-players: Gilegilau Paqalius, Rumetj Tjakulavu, and Djanav Zengror.[100]

The oldest known flutes in Pingtung County were made of a specific type of locally-sourced bamboo. There are two different types of blow-hole on Paiwan flutes;

[100] http://portal.tacp.gov.tw/litterateur/Poiwon, accessed Nov. 27, 2018. This website archived Aboriginal artists from different groups. Among the Paiwan, flautists such as Camak Paqalius, Gilegilau Paqalius, and Ljigiai Taududu specialize in not only the craft of flute-making but also the ecological knowledge of mountain forests.

one is circular (*tjinebuang*), and the other one is inclined and plugged with a cork (*pinuljupetj*). The latter type, typically used for mouth flutes (*pakulalu*), produces a louder, brighter, and penetrating timbre than the former type (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: Circular blow-holes (left) and inclined blow-holes plugged with a cork (right). Makers: Gilagilau Paqalius (left) and Pairang Pavavalung (right). Photo by Author.

Despite the regional variations, many local Paiwan people mentioned that the version of three finger-holed *lalingedan* with a circular blow-hole is centered around the village of Piuma. Located in the central part of Pingtung County, Taiwu Township, Piuma has long been considered a stronghold of the Paiwan flute-making. The region is aware of its characteristic as the homeland of nose flutes; a giant monument of a nose-flute player welcomes visitors to the village (see Figure 4.4). The monument is based on a local maker-player, Lemarjz Tuvlelem, who was one of the main characters in Hu Tai-Li's documentary *Sound of Love and Sorrow* (2000). Gilegilau Paqalius and his family

are well known for sustaining the artisanal knowledge and practice in the village. Another more common version of flute, found in Sandimen Town in the northern Paiwan area, has five finger holes with an inclined cork-plugged blow-hole.[101] As the custodian of this craft, the Pavavalung family lineage in Parilaiyan village has performed on a double-pipe flute called *palinged*, which can be played interchangeably with either the nose or mouth.

Figure 4.4: The monument of a nose-flute player at the entry of Piuma village. Photo by author.

The Materials

Traditionally, the Paiwan flutes have largely been transmitted through the flautists' dual roles: instrument makers and players. The instruments and their materiality

[101] According to their original homelands rather than contemporary administrative areas, the Paiwan people are mainly divided into two sub-groups. Those from the upper north in the region of Tavuvu mountain called themselves Ravar, while Vutsul is centered around Tjagalaus mountain, which is located near Taiwu Township.

are the key mediation that renders the operation of passing down possible. Their construction requires a variety of related ecological knowledge—of bamboo, local weather, and geographic/locational conditions—as well as a set of skills—harvesting bamboos, measuring, drying, bending, drilling holes, carving, sound-testing, staining, and modifying. Typically, Paiwan flute players made their flutes themselves, with parts sourced from native bamboo trees. There are several types of native bamboo that can be used to produce *lalingedan* and *pakulalu*. Areas around Piuma village use a type of bamboo called *lumalumai* to make flutes, while areas around Parilaiyan village (*dashe*) use a different kind of bamboo called *qau*. *Lumalumai* (*Bambusa dolichomerithall Hayata*), a native type of bamboo found in the mountainous area of southern Taiwan, is regarded by Paiwan community as the best suited for nose flute-making. Some pointed out that *lumalumai* is a common source for the Paiwan people in various spheres of craft, including bamboo-leaf baskets and flute-making. According to Gilegilau Paqalius, these bamboo trees can be found at the local mountainous areas at an elevation of about 700 to 1000 meters.

For experienced maker-players, the sound of bamboo is associated with its particular size, shape, and durability. According to several flautists, *lumalumai* is highly valued for the making of traditional nose flutes due to its relatively thick caliber, long joints, and strong and stable qualities.[102] My interlocutors described the sound as "deep," "smooth," and "soft" compared to other kinds of bamboo in the area such as *kaceva* and *qau*. *Lumalumai* is planted bamboo, while *kaceva* grows wild up on the cliffs (Wu, 2011a: 45). In contrast, thinner, shorter bamboos are suitable for the making of mouth flutes (*pakulalu*), as their sound is considered "brighter" and "louder" (Figure 4.6).

[102] According to my interview with Gilegilau Paqalius, the older the bamboo grows, the more stable it becomes. Thus, older bamboos are better suited to flute-making (April 8, 2017).

Figure 4.5: Gilegilau Paqalius and his apprentices select and harvest suitable bamboo for flute-making. Photo courtesy of Rumetj Tjakulavu.

Several Paiwan flute-makers remarked that windy areas produce high-quality bamboos with more elasticity.[103] Typically, the work of bamboo selection has to be done in the winter to insure that the bamboo is tight, dry, and free of worms. Because of the variations inherent in natural material, some bamboo turns out to be more "proper" for flute-making; it is not as consistent as materials like metal or plastic. As every bamboo pipe is, to a certain extent, unique, other skills, such as calibrating the length and width of bamboo, internal diameter, the spacing between different holes, and sizes of holes, are not mechanical instructions, but more like an operational dialogue with natural materials in order to ensure the instruments' stability and accuracy of sound production. To ensure

[103] According to my personal conversation with Gilegilau Paqalius and his apprentice Rumetj Tjakulavu. Also, Pairang Pavavalung resonates with their comments in the documentary film *Brothers Who Sing and Love*.

a great quality of instruments, all the embodied knowledge, deep understandings of materials, and skills are interconnected and required.

Figure 4.6: One-pipe mouth flute (*pakulalu*) owned by Rumetj Tjakulavu. Maker: Gilegilau Paqalius. Photo by author.

The material is embedded in a production of symbolic significance, from the originating forest to music performance and production. The prominent discourses and images on Paiwan flutes often depict them as "the instruments from the mountainous forest," which reinforces the association with nature. The often-seen spectacle of flautists in traditional Paiwan dress and its juxtaposition with natural scenes and Paiwan cultural

artifacts tend to create symbols of nobility and distinctive Paiwan-ness (Figure 4.7). Many use the mountain landscape practically and symbolically as the acoustic space of Paiwan flutes, and they often describe the flute's sound as a product of mountainous space (Dawe, 2015:111).

Figure 4.7: Pictures of Paiwan flutes from recordings and flyers.

The Timbre

Discussions concerning proper tone quality reveal much about how "authenticity" of materials and the Paiwan aesthetic are conceptualized. As discussed in Chapter Three, timbre is a central component in establishing expectations and stereotypes of the flutes' sonic aesthetic. Some elders deem the three-holed, circular blow-hole flute to be an older version, but they also indicated that this type is unsuitable for virtuosic styles and concert-hall acoustic requirements due to its relatively soft timbre and volume, as well as limited dynamic control. Indeed, a number of Paiwan flute performers either amplify

their instruments or use the inclined blow-hole type that produces a louder and brighter timbre for live performances. On the other hand, the master artists also hesitate to compromise the relatively soft timbre that is deemed indispensable for the instruments. The choice of blow-hole led to a debate over the "authenticity" within the politics of preservation and transmission.

Djanav Zengror is a long-time Paiwan singer and flautist who has traveled around for workshops and performances, as well as composing Paiwan songs in the wake of his success.[104] Having grown up in the Paiwan village of Magazayazaya, Djanav is committed to what he considers "traditional" aesthetics and is knowledgeable about Paiwan folk songs and the Paiwan language. Unlike the conventional three-holed version, his nose flute is a contemporary six-holed version made from a type of bamboo called *guichu* (*Phyllostachys makinoi*) (Figure 4.8). In fact, Djanav's experimentation with alternate bamboos stems not only from availability of material sources, but also from his idea about auditory aesthetics. When I asked what he liked best about the nose flute, Djanav responded: "It is the tone of very old, ancient times, and the flute produces a 'deep' sound."[105] Despite the fact that the tuning of his six-holed flute is closer to the Western tuning, he emphasizes the need to maintain the "distinctively Paiwan" sonic and aesthetic values.

[104] Djanav Zengror is the producer of the Taiwan Public Television Program "Walking TIT" and the winner of the first Indigenous Popular Music Award.
[105] Personal interview with Djanav Zengror, Taipei, August 7, 2018.

Figure 4.8: Paiwan musician Djanav Zengror at the 2017 Society for Ethnomusicology Pre-conference Symposium. Photo by author, 25 October 2017.

As these local types were hard put to negotiate qualities demanded by contemporary aesthetics, a number of Paiwan members have attempted to "modify" the instrument by increasing the number of finger holes to six in order to play more contemporary repertoires and replacing bamboo flutes with flutes made from metal or PVC materials for a more consistent tuning and timbre. However, some expressed concern that these modifications may cause the loss of the older aesthetic and timbre.[106] Most of my interlocutors preferred the sound of bamboo, especially *lumalumai*, as its sound feels more "natural" and proper for the Paiwan aesthetic. Some pointed out that a

[106] Personal communication with Giglegilau Paqalius, Yilan, June 10, 2017.

plastic flute is good for beginners to learn on, but its homogenized sound "lacks character." This view resonates with the Bureau of Cultural Heritage's standpoint. For instance, during a forum on Paiwan flutes Preservation Plan in 2018, hosted by BCU, several participants expressed concern that the use of alternative materials to make Paiwan flutes may lead to the loss of the unique timbre. What is more important behind this debate is that alternative materials may result in the potential loss of insider ecological knowledge and craftsmanship, which are deemed essential by the Paiwan.

Sustainability

Resonating with the growing critical literature on UNESCO's interventions into local musical practices (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Yung, 2009), Jeff Titon, in his article "Music and Sustainability," aims to develop "more partnerships among community scholars, practitioners, and culture workers" and suggested "more bottom-up, community-based efforts to promote participatory music-making in local venues" (2009: 135). In Titon's account, musical sustainability focuses not on individual masterpieces, but on "enhancing habitat conditions under which people are able to continue to make diverse musics in different ways and for various reasons" (ibid: 129). Grant also uses the idea of sustainability to denote "the ability of a music genre to endure, without in any way implying that it should be preserved unchanging" (2014: 12).[107] While this trend of musical sustainability focuses on the collaboration—among scholars, cultural insiders, governmental institutions, and NGOs—that encourages diverse and participatory

[107] Titon lists several factors that play crucial roles in music sustainability: The musical habitat includes both physical and cultural factors of the musical environment such as ideas about music, sound and sound-producing instruments, recording studios, media, venues, musical education and transmission, and the economics of music - indeed, music as cultural production and a cultural domain - which relate to the health of musical individuals, populations, and communities (2009:123).

activities, my study contributes to the ongoing discussion about musical sustainability from the perspective of critical organology.

Ethnomusicologists have studied how instrument makers adapt and respond to changes in the available raw materials, construction tools, and instrumental forms/designs available to them and subsequently alter the way in which instruments are made (Bates, 2012: 388; Dawe, 2015: 113). Indigenous music scholars have also noted that aspects of insider knowledge in the belief systems of various Native groups emphasize the importance of place, including environmental sound and the properties of natural materials used for sound production (Diamond, 2008: 21; Conlon, 2014: 443).

As indicated by several maker-players, making Paiwan flutes is less about turning profit through large-scale production than the maintenance of craft. Most maker-players sell only a few instruments a year. Uncovering links between the availability of material sources for Paiwan flute making and the protection of the environment, several Paiwan flautists have expressed the concern over the issue of the sustainability of ecology. Rumetj Tjakulavu explained:

> [The Paiwan flutes] cannot be valued with money. Last time I visited a bamboo forest around my village, I realized that more than half of the forest had collapsed and it becomes harder and harder to find the suitable [bamboo] in that area. When we try to promote Paiwan flutes and music, we also need to be aware of the protection of bamboo forestry and the knowledge of local ecology.

The point here is that the value of the instruments is closely associated with the availability of raw materials, but perhaps more significant is the absence of a sufficient sustainable forestry initiative within the area.

There have been attempts to explore new and sustainable means of Paiwan flute-making by replacing manual techniques with machinery production and bamboo pipes

with other materials due to accessibility and identical sound.[108] However, there is an emerging concern that such large-scale production will result in the devastation of natural materials, as well as the impoverishment of the craftsmanship.[109] The particular bamboo the flute is made from is important and addresses an increasing awareness of the responsible use of natural resources. As mentioned above, this native species of bamboo mostly lives in the mountain area of southern Taiwan, where the majority of Aborigines used to inhabit (older village sites). Critiques of economic exploitation, corrupted land development projects, and environmental destruction are urgent issues among Aborigines in Taiwan today. The major debate behind these scenes is the issue of sustainability, indigenous land rights, and the revival of emic knowledge like hunting/fishing skills, place naming, and botany. Here the material is closely intertwined with growing ethical perspectives on the indigenous environment and imperatives of politics and economics.

Crafting Individualized Instruments

Holes

Conventionally, Paiwan flautists play their self-made flutes (or those given by relatives or elders), as they often find them the best fit for their own bodies (nose, mouth, hand), feel, and tone. As a maker-player, Rumetj Tjakulavu emphasized that he likes to play the flutes he made. Since each pipe of bamboo "grows differently," the making process enables him to develop a deep sensory familiarity and "know the instruments better" (personal interview, January 2019). In this process, individual musical experience may modify one's own handiwork, making a strong influence on the final object so it becomes functional for music or performance (Jakovljevic, 2012:132).

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[108] Personal communication with Zhou Min-Jie, Yilang, June 2, 2017.
[109] Gilegilau Paqalius, Pingtung, August 12, 2017.

In the past, the positions of the holes were estimated approximately, so much depended on the dimensions of the maker's fingers. Flute makers use their fingers to measure the caliber of bamboo as well as the distance between finger holes (Figure 4.9). Due to this particular way of measuring, dimensions and tunings vary according to the individual taste of the craftsman and irregularities in bore configuration (Thrasher and Lam, 2014). Some maker-players recalled that this way of measuring becomes a marker of individual identification to the young women they wanted to court, as the tunings of the flutes determined by maker's fingers are sonically distinctive and therefore give each flute one's "signature sound." Nowadays most of the maker-players use particular measuring tools (patterns) for holes.

Figure 4.9: Pairang Pavavalung uses his fingers to measure the distance between finger holes (up) and the caliber of the bamboo (bottom).[110]

While Paiwan flutes are highly individualized instruments, there are certain conventions that maker-players seek to follow. As confirmed by the Paqalius family, the oldest version of the double-pipe nose flute is the three-holed version that centered on the central Paiwan region. Also, flautists in this area typically drill the finger holes in an inclined angle (Figure 4.10). They mentioned that the flute "looks better this way," and this distinction is also embodied in the musical sound. In Hu Tai-Li's investigation, Lemariz Tuvelelem indicated that the flute (both nose and mouth flutes) with inclined finger holes has been the local tradition, and can make sounds in "a better fit with Aboriginal tunes" (Hu, 2003:325). Along the same line, the flutes made by the Paqalius family have also followed this tradition. Gilegilau points out that the inclined finger holes are more demanding to play and produce smoother *glissandi*.

[110] Screenshots of the documentary film *Brothers Who Sing of Love and Longing*.

Figure 4.10: Finger holes drilled in an inclined angle. Flute maker: Gilegilau Paqalius. Photo by author.

Tuning also becomes an area to reaffirm the boundary between the Paiwan expression of the flutes and the music accustomed to Western tuning. This older method of measuring recognized by Paiwan musicians has been encouraged by the government's heritage project because the tuning is distinct from the Western (equal-tempered) tuning; the music can be distinguished from the arranged folk music that employs Western tuning, harmonic language, and notation systems. However, because the Transmission Plans have prioritized the crafts and knowledge possessed by the master artists, their flute-making techniques, including this measuring method and tunings, have become standardized to pass them down to the young learners. Both master artists are now revered as the surviving custodians of artisanal practice and the standardized instrument models (Pairang Pavavalung represents the artisanal practice of northern Paiwan region, while Gilegilau Paqalius represents the artisanal practice of central Paiwan region).

The ongoing tension between the individualized nature of Paiwan flutes and the standardization of them is also evident in the contemporary promotion of Paiwan flutes. An essential part of that is to hold community-based workshops or lessons on the Paiwan flutes at local Aboriginal elementary, middle schools, and churches. The workshops and lessons often included both instrument-making and playing sessions. In the instrument-making sessions, students normally have half-finished bamboo pipes for them to drill holes and tie them up. However, such group lessons have a tendency to use homogenized and standardized instruments or uniformly produced curriculum materials. This kind of final performance normally features a group of students playing a tune in unison. Although this format serves the purpose of bringing the students together, concerns have been voiced that playing in unison to some extent contradicts the individualized nature of the music.[111]

Carving

While craftsmanship becomes a desired quality that the Paiwan people intend to sustain, Paiwan craftsmanship is articulated in terms of the visual (in addition to sonic) properties of the instruments. Paiwan flutes stand out as being visually distinctive from other Aboriginal instruments. The surfaces of *lalingedan* and *pakulalu* are highly adorned with intricate carving that directly articulates the milieu of Paiwan material culture; they have symbolic and technical significance.

Conventionally, the flute is carved with symbols of nobility, including the motifs of the sun, human heads, and the snake that is always referred as *Deinagkistrodon acutus* viper (Figure 4.11).[112] The more intricate the carving is, the higher status the carver has.

[111] Forum on Preservation of Paiwan flutes, hosted by BCH, Pingtung, September 8, 2018.

[112] Traditionally, *lalingedan* is regarded as a very noble instrument that only noblemen (*mamazangiljan*) can play and have carving designs on their house and instrument, whereas *pakulalu* is regarded as an instrument for commoners.

As mentioned in chapter two, those totems are also represented in other Paiwan crafts, such as house decorations, sculpture, pottery (*dredretan*), and hand tattoos (*vecik na lima)*, and these themes of carving patterns are similar throughout the Paiwanese regions. In fact, several flute makers, including Pairang Pavavalung and Gilegilau Paqalius, are also craftsmen and carvers. In its narrowest sense, *venecik,* a Paiwan term for carving, refers to "lines and strips," but it extends to figures, drawings, designs, and other objects with these attributes, such as tattooing, embroidery, painting, and carving. Scholars have argued that the assemblage of *venecik* composes the Paiwan material culture and crafting arts today (Tan, 2003). Additionally, the Paiwan people conceive of the carving design on the flute as an expression of the individual thoughts and expectations of the maker. Pairang Pavavalung notes that the purpose of decorating the objects is to "enrich them" (*pakialalang*), meaning that the instrument is organically interwoven into their individual expressions rather than simply being a sound-producing object.

Hand-carving a pipe of bamboo with a knife is extremely time-consuming, laborious, and easy to fail, as its relatively thin skin makes it more prone to cracking than other woods. As mentioned earlier, Pairang Pavavalung has been designated as a holder of Paiwan flutes partly due to his marvelous craftsmanship as well as his familiarity with Paiwan songs. Besides the craftsmanship, the decorative carving designs are deemed valuable within the Transmission Plans, which makes every carved flute unique and therefore renders replicating the process impossible.

Figure 4.11: Carving patterns on the flutes made by Gilegilau Paqalius (left) and Pairang Pavavalung (right). Photo by author.

MUSICAL CRAFTSMANSHIP

In the case of *lalingedan* and *pakulalu*, various meanings and stereotypes associated with the instruments include not only the sounds they produce or their physical appearances (iconography), but also the particular embodied knowledge and musical craftsmanship that are transmitted. Musical instruments can embody a variety of traits, which include genre performance preference and constraint, stylistic content, and individualized/canonized techniques. Regarding instruments as an object draws attention to how "humans adapt their bodies in response to the materiality of the instrument, giving a more nuanced understanding of embodied knowledge" (LaFevers, 2018:169). Instrumental performance involves a crafting practice that can better conceptualize skills

and knowledge grounded in body-instrument interaction. In this regard, musical craftsmanship is of course not like the work of an automaton but habitual (Jakovljevic, 2012:128), involving a process in which practitioners develop related skills and knowledge. In this sense, everything that shaped the player's action under such conditions was a habitual experience turned to a crafted practice, whether it is institutionalized, canonized, or individualized practice.

Regarding musical performance as an expressive realization of engagement and craft abilities of a performer, Jakovljevic (2012) argues that music is composed of elements that are mostly connected with expression tools such as melodic models, ostinato in the case of the *gajde* bagpipe. Similarly to the way familiarity with the materials enables makers to craft instruments and manipulate their sonic capacity, familiarity with the expressive tools and techniques of playing an instrument likewise enables players to embody physical (or culturally distinct) habits and associated sounds. Crafting is not habitual in the sense of a simple routine or mechanical action, but it is an activity that is habitual in the sense that it does not require cognitive thought when it is done in certain moments. In other words, people engage it without thinking about it explicitly (Sennett, 2008). The questions therefore become, what is the cause of the embodiment, and how are those related to particular sounds?

As discussed in chapter three, there are no "fixed repertoires" for Paiwan nose and mouth flute playing; each player typically crafts their own melodies in their own idiomatic phrasings or are inspired by feelings of the moment. Also, Paiwan flute playing, especially nose flutes, is traditionally presented in a solo "improvised" form that includes highly recognizable personal characteristics, patterns, or ornamentation.[113]

[113] In the documentary film *Brothers Who Sing of Love and Longing*, Pairang Pavavalung says, "Everyone has a different melody. Old people can tell who is playing. The girlfriend can also tell the difference."

Ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl (2013) suggests that the concept of "improvisation" should become more nuanced "in culture" in a sense that this concept "explores the intersection of improvisation and what one might best call pre-composition" and looks at "how they overlap and intersect, at what they have in common, at the role of preparation, of following canons, of audience expectation."[114] The "improvisation" in Paiwan flute music typically starts with a short phrase or motif that becomes the point of departure. Certain melodic motifs or fragments are frequently found in each person's playing, varying from one note to a short pattern. The phrase or motif is then repeated and altered in different ways throughout the improvisation. The significance of individual patterns (short motif) is evident in Hu Tai-Li's book (2001), as it provided an analysis of each player's beginning and ending patterns (Figure 4.12).

A number of elderly players mentioned that it is hard to capture what exactly is the "great" flute sound since each player plays differently (Hu, 2001:54). I have heard several Paiwan flautists say that "you have to develop your own tunes/sounds naturally through your own voices," or something along those lines. Pairang Pavavalung recalls that when he was young, there were many people who could play Paiwan flutes with their individual styles, and people were able to recognize who was playing just by listening (Nian, 1995:45). This means that one of the key learning processes and transmission manners is developing one's own melodies.

[114] Nettl wrote: How to define improvisation is complicated, because historically, improvisation in Western art music is a performance practice of extemporization, a craft in a sense that contrasts to the art of composition…. But in the non-Western and folk cultures, improvisation is seen as equated to oral transmission and composition….[it is] just non-composed (2013).

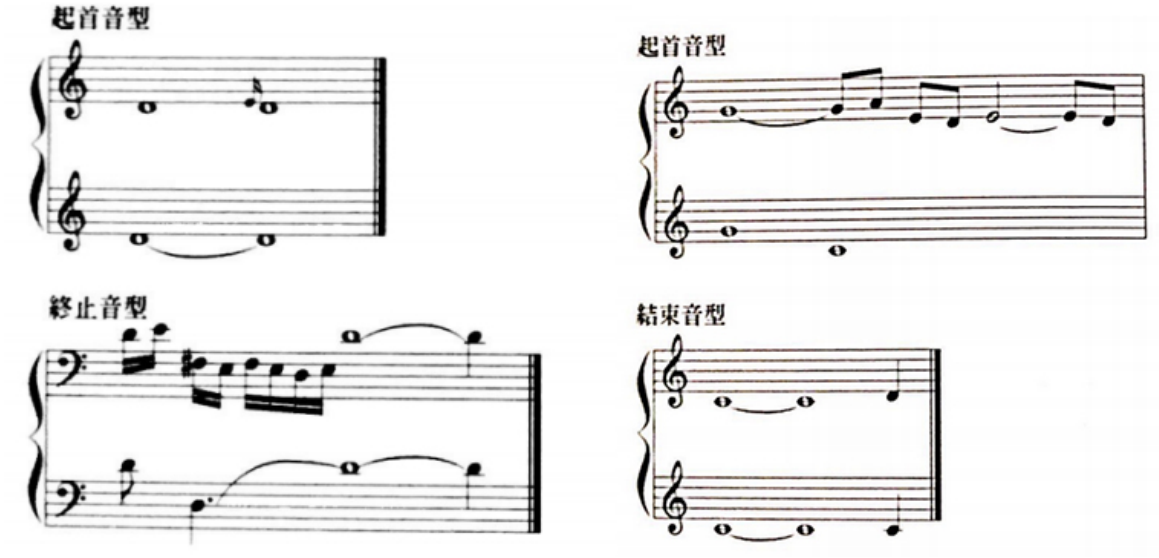

Figure 4.12: Examples of individual player's beginning and ending patterns. (Hu, Lai, and Qian, 2001). Players: Guo Rong-Chang 郭榮長 (left) and Camak Paqalius 鄭尾葉 (right). Transcribed and analyzed by Lai Chao-Tsai and Qian Shan-Hua.

However, developing one's own melody is not necessarily an isolated task. Despite the fact that everyone has a unique repertoire of skills and musical constituents, there seems to be a norm of how to develop one's own tune properly. Aural/oral transmission has become an important way and reference for practitioners to learn through the tunes copied from others and socially reinforced. According to Hu Tai-Li's investigation, some Paiwan flute players were born in villages that nurtured these instruments, and musical practice was one of important parts of their identity. Many of them recalled that normally there is nobody "teaching" (*temulu*) them how to play those flutes (Pavavalung, 2012: 26). Rather, they learned through observing and absorbing the stylized phrases from other elderly players in the village (Hu, 2001). For example, Lemariz Tjuvelelem recalled:

> I could not remember how long it took to learn the flute. I had no idea about how to arrive at great flute playing, until I became a young man and started playing for

> other people and elders. I started considering myself capable of playing when they told me that I play well.[115]

Reflecting on his learning experience, Gilegilau Paqalius also remarked (July 2018):

> When we get together we Aborigines like to sing. We have many songs that are not written down, and we normally learn them by ear. Once we heard of those tunes, we will emulate it on the flutes. Over time it becomes part of our repertoire. Typically, there were no "fixed repertoires" for us to learn… As my father-in-law [Camak Paqalius] made and played the flutes, I watched and listened to him.[116]

In other words, crafting each player's own tunes and individual stylized patterns, instead of working in isolation, also requires social feedback and oral-imitative transmission from other community members or life activities. Gilegilau suggests how one should approach the improvisation and build one's own tune:

> "You can develop your own tunes, don't just follow mine…if you have particular favorite tunes in mind, that is fine. When you play it, you play like we Aborigines. Don't be constrained by the rhythm or the notation. Aboriginal style is more free-rhythm and improvisational."

When I asked him "how do you craft your own playing?" He said, "You need to watch and listen to other people." This involves a process of emulating elements of phrases, such as time organization and melodic development. In the older mode of transmission, there were not many maker-players with the terminology to teach the flute in the way that music schools would teach. Most elderly players learned by observing and listening (Pavavalung, 2012:16). This view demonstrates that such musical craftsmanship can hardly be explicitly verbalized, as Sennett argues, but emerged from constant processes of reconsidering and re-exploring that serve as critique and corrective, rather than a mundane mechanical practice without reflection.

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[115] Hu, Tai-Li, 2003:324. The English translation is mine.
[116] Personal interview. Pingtung, Taiwan, July 24, 2018.

Expressive Tools

But how is Paiwan flute playing transmitted and learned? What aspects make a player become more "skilled"? How have contemporary transmission methods systematized and verbalized these techniques?[117] There are certain "tools" to craft an individual's flute playing. As mentioned in the previous chapter, intense vibrato (*migeregerege*) and *glissando* (*pariarig*) are considered distinctive features among Paiwan flautists (Hu, 2001:185). Sauniaw Tjuveljevelj's book *Paiwan Double-pipe Nose Flutes and Mouth Flutes* (2000) includes her transcriptions of the songs she collected. In the transcriptions, Sauniaw frequently used a sign to indicate the intense vibrato, and much on longer tones (see Figure 4.13). Some local educators remarked that elderly players skillfully use their fingertips to glide or play half notes with perfectly matched breathing. These techniques are considered ways of coloring notes by changing the pitch very slightly.[118] Other ornamental "tools" also include stylized turns (upper and lower notes), trills, and a quick release at the ends of phrases (resulting in a fast rising pattern).[119] Figure 4.14 presents a transcription of the opening part of a typical Paiwan song, "Uniyo," which exemplifies the techniques of trills and glissando used in Gilegilau Paqalius' embellished version.

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[117] In a recent series of autobiographical film of master artists, produced by Taiwan's Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Pairang Pavavalung mentioned three basic techniques of playing the Paiwan flutes: blowing, breathing, and fingering. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fa5IEe7tOKo, accessed Nov. 26, 2018.

[118] In Etan Pavavalung's documentary film, Chen Tsai-Xin, the Paiwan educator and the principal of Sandi Elementary School, particularly emphasized the elderly players' marvelous skills on *glissandi*.

[119] Sauniaw Tjuvelevelj uses *chengyin duanqi* (正音斷氣) to describe the quick release at the ends of phrase in many Paiwan songs.

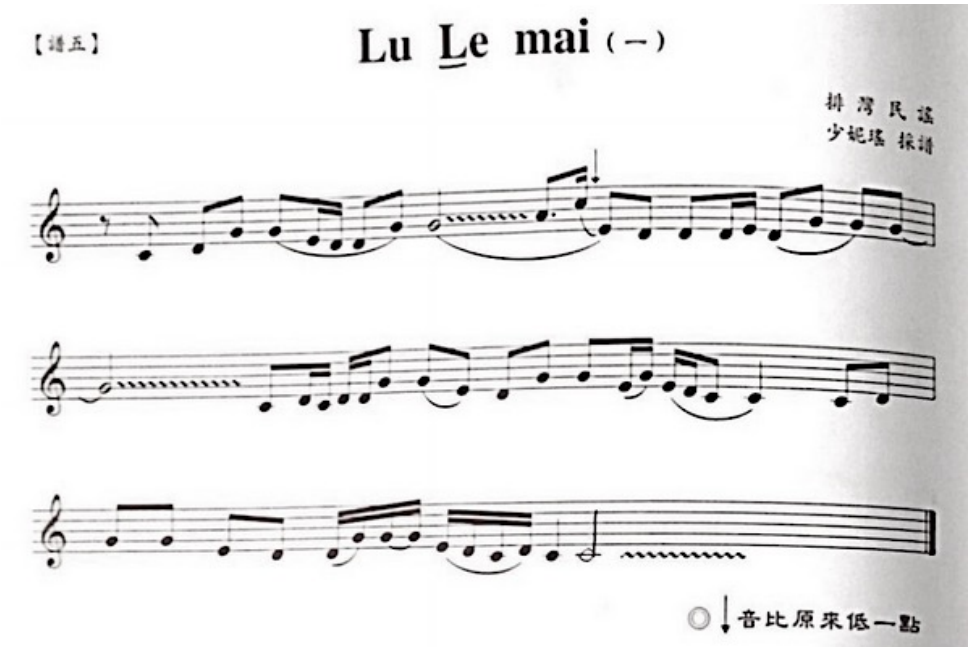

Figure 4.13: Sauniaw Tjuveljevelj's transcription (2000). Note that every long note has the sign for vibrato.

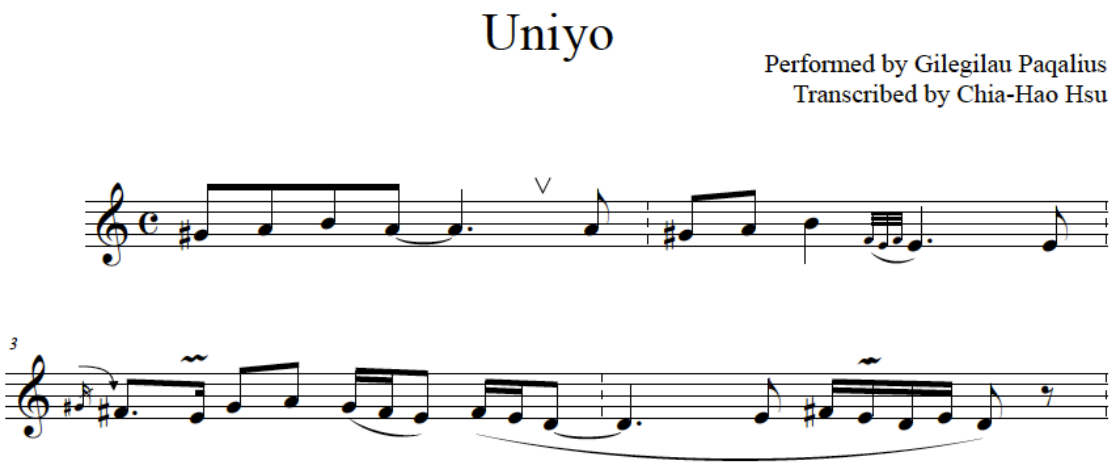

Figure 4.14: Example of trills and glissando (Gilegilau Paqalius, Pingtung, December 22, 2016).

In addition to making their own patterns melodically, players normally make some subtle changes through manipulating breath to change timbre and vibration. The

notation system does not appropriately account for individual ornaments, the timbral qualities of pitch, and the non-metrical nature of the music—which are fundamental elements of the Paiwan flute playing. These subtle ornamenting techniques include stylized trills, pitch bending, and quick releases at the ends of phrases. These techniques become key components for practitioners to sustain the quintessential Paiwan sound within the contemporary transmission of Paiwan music practice, and players use them to imitate the correlative vocal performances and embellish the phrases.

BECOMING A NATIONAL IMPORTANT TRADITIONAL ART

As mentioned in Chapter One, "new methods and infrastructures for transmitting, promoting, and disseminating the revived music"—educational institutions, organizations, government policies—are one of the important themes of music revivals (Hill and Bithell, 2014). Despite its emphasis on the past, the heritage-making project is "ultimately about shaping the future" (Luker, 2016:240). The reinvention of Paiwan flutes as a refined cultural heritage since 2011 helped transform the instruments into an iconic facet of Paiwan culture. The implementation of CHPA and the process of national cultural production have triggered an increase in the new transmission/promotional methods and revival activity.[120] According to Article 97 of CHPA:

> The competent authorities shall conduct technical preservation of registered preservation techniques, help the preservers pass on their techniques, and apply such techniques in preserving and restoring cultural heritage.

[120] Such intervention is not necessarily operated in a top-down manner, as specified in CHPA, "The competent authorities shall establish a platform and subsidize relevant recourses to support cultural organizations and artists, offering an environment of creation and renovation as an operating mechanism, along with examining their needs thoroughly, rather than anticipating those practitioners meeting official requirements."

Through the Transmission Plans, selected master artists and apprentices are considered "cultural bearers" who are responsible for transmitting related forms of knowledge and techniques in a master-apprentice model. In this model, an apprentice normally "takes lessons" and participates in related activities with a master to learn music and cultural knowledge. During the four-year transmission period, both master artists and apprentices receive national grants with which to build their own methods, strategies, and content for preservation and transmission in order to maintain their musical practices.[121]

Numerous scholars also engage as agents of revival and become important mediators in shaping the idealized style of performance as well. The master artists offered training to the apprentices in a combination of traditional and new training methods, with the assistance of domestic scholars and government officials, and local advocates. They have devised transmission methods and link them to the BCH's plan for the promotion and transmission of local knowledge.

The Transformation: Transmission and Notation

Defining the transmission of Paiwan flute music necessitates a discussion of the ways perspectives on musical pedagogy differ between Western art music and Paiwan flute music. Several flautists encourage the students to compose/improvise their own tunes and patterns, including Sauniaw Tjuveljevelj, a Pingtung County designated holder of Paiwan flutes (Figure 4.15).[122] Gilegilau Paqalius notes that most of his solo performances were his own improvised tunes, and his playing does feature particular

[121] On May 20, 2012, the Ministry of Culture was formally installed and the Headquarters Administration of Cultural Heritage was transformed simultaneously into "Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture," taking charge of specific duties to promoting the national cultural heritage affairs, executing and supervising the national cultural heritage preservation, maintenance, utilization, education, promulgation, research, grants and subsidies, and so on." http://en.boch.gov.tw/ (accessed 05 May 2017).

[122] Sauniaw has collaborated with musicians from a wide variety of cultures earned her high praise for new crossover collaboration. Her acceptance as a female Paiwan artist on the instruments formerly forbidden to women reflects the loosened gender restrictions among the Paiwan.

stylized patterns that other players do not share. However, in the early stage of Transmission Plans, apprentices may not have attained the mastery to compose/improvise their own patterns in a "Paiwan-sounding vein." Some apprentices told me that much more time was needed if they were to gain sufficient experience and knowledge to improvise in a "proper" way and deviate from the fixed versions they had learned. One of the apprentices, Cheng Wei-Hung, stressed that he has to continuously listen to and emulate the master artist's playing style and other Paiwan folk tunes. Other apprentices expressed their incapability of reading the notation, emphasizing that they had to return to old recordings time to time again. In this respect, historical recordings were used as an aid to probe the proper Paiwan aesthetic and to inform contemporary understanding, performance, and transmission.

Figure 4.15: Nose flutes artist Sauniaw Tjuveljevelj. Photo by author, December 4, 2016.

Due to this concern, the designated holders of Paiwan flutes, include Pairang, Gilegilau, and Sauniaw, have had to transcribe parts of their own improvised tunes or re-arranged numerous Aboriginal folksongs for the purpose of teaching.[123] For example, Gilegilau has used a cipher notation system to notate several prescribed tunes and his own compositions for the purposes of documentation and transmission (Figure 4.16). Nevertheless, he avoided using notation when it is not necessary and mainly taught the music orally in keeping with the specific mode of aural transmission and improvisatory expression. This is also because most students were not skilled in the Western notation system.

[123] These three flautists have paid attention to the transmission of Paiwan flutes to the younger generations and have accepted the invitations of local elementary schools to spend time teaching children.

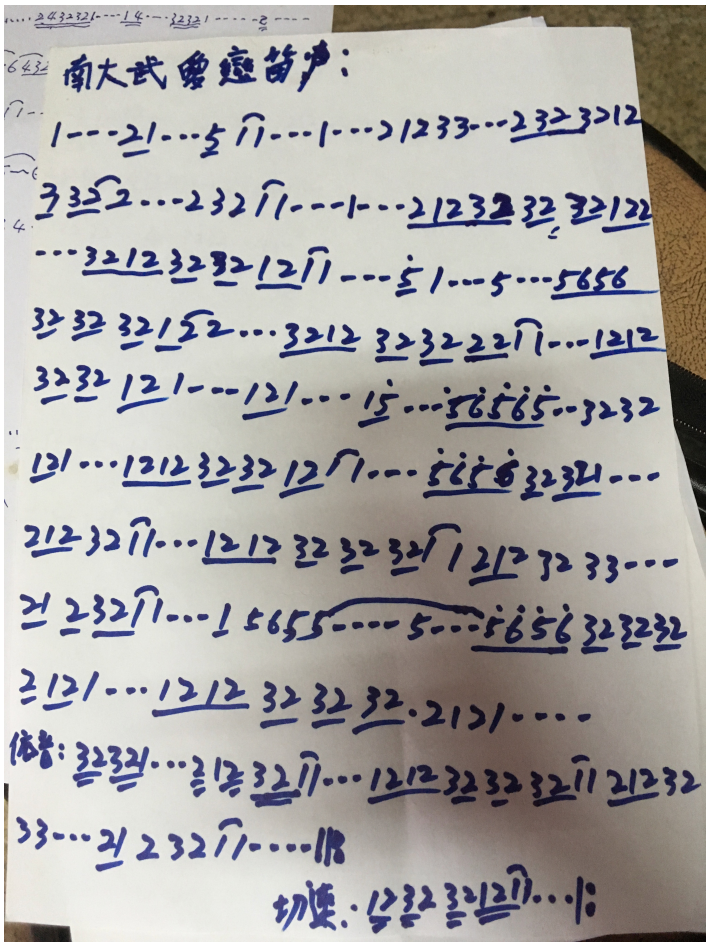

Figure 4.16: Gilegilau Paqalius's manuscript of his transcription in a cipher notation system. Photo by author.

Embodiment and "Authenticity"

These techniques of playing the instruments and its associated sounds have been a contested arena in the Transmission Plans of Paiwan flutes. The embodiment of Paiwan-ness can be an imagination and a marker of staged authenticity for audiences or scholars. In fact, the jury members and scholars served as crucial mediators and bridges between various actors and, in particular, between cultural practitioners and state agencies. Through a series of investigation, feedback, and comments, the jury committee has encouraged certain features to sustain the distinctiveness of Paiwan music.

During the 2017 mid-term examination, several jury members (who are domestic scholars, both Han and Paiwan) emphasized the need for apprentices to demonstrate the techniques that characterize distinctive Paiwan sonic traits, such as intense vibrato (*migeregerege*), *glissando*, and stylized trills. However, some techniques or features are discouraged by the jury committee. For instance, some jury members considered trilling in a "too rhythmic" manner an "inauthentic" method because it sounded like it was an outside influence. In contrast, non-metrical playing and individualized patterns become markers of "authenticity." In other words, to play like a Paiwanese, the apprentices are expected to perform particular features that have now been canonized.

In order to encourage the widespread performance of the songs and tunes they collected, revivalists have been known to "add what they perceived as more modern accompaniment" (Hill and Bithell, 2014:26). As practitioners constantly encounter the issue of balancing change and continuity, this phenomenon is evident in several recent attempts within the Transmission Plans. For instance, in one of the year-end final examinations, Pairang Pavavalung's team used a guitar and an African drum (djembe) as accompaniment for Paiwan flute-playing with fellow vocalists in a style that incorporated Western tonal harmony. However, the jury members considered these acts a marker of "inauthenticity" and advised that they should be avoided before the apprentices actually learn the masters' crafts and styles. These features thus become institutionalized to set Paiwan flute music apart from those of nearby Aboriginal groups, such as the Rukai and the Puyuma.

When I asked if he would add some phrasings or techniques featuring "Paiwan flavor," Rumetj Tjakulavu, as one of Gilegilau Paqalius' apprentices, also recalled how he has developed his style:

> Every player has his/her own playing styles. For example, my own style may sound relatively plain, compared to other apprentices' styles. I don't necessarily add a lot of intense vibrato [*migeregerege*] and *glissando*. Even if I do, that is my way and style to express my thoughts and feelings. I am not doing that deliberately…I like to listen to the old recordings of Paiwan folksongs to capture the flavor, so I started to play like singing.

In his opinion, the flute playing as a form of self-expression differs from other musicians who deliberately incorporate the distinctive techniques for staged performance. In my conversations with a few practitioners, they occasionally expressed discomfort and frustration at being judged by the jury members, especially those who specialize in other Aboriginal groups and are not particularly familiar with the Paiwan musical practices. The government-led examination and performance become a mechanism to institutionalize iconic traits and to negotiate an aesthetic value that yields the continuity.

Multiple Imaginations

> *It is a serious misconception to think that just by labeling something "traditional," it somehow should remain unchanged. It is the technique of the musicians and how well they craft the music in a contemporary setting that will ensure its future legacy* (Samstag 1988).[124]

The revival strategy led by the BCH has focused on several aspects: raising the profile of Paiwan flutes by collecting information about musicians and their related activities; organizing conferences and performances; publishing research; arranging promotional and educational events.[125] As part of its duty, BCH has staged Paiwan flutes at various venues, such as the National Traditional Arts Center and the Taichung Cultural Heritage Park. Musicians are invited to perform and present the "National Important

[124] Although this quotation is derived from a case study of the preservation of Korean Samul nori (Hesselink, 2004), I quote it here because it resonates with my analysis on Paiwan flutes.

[125] According to CHPA's Chapter 1, Article 8: The central competent authority shall locate exclusive, hand some funds in budgets to undertake investigation, collection, classification, research, promotion, preservation, conservation and teaching of the cultural heritage of indigenous people, and other relevant matters under this Act.

Traditional Art" and "authentic" form of the music. The local government has also supported cultural performances of this kind for the promotion of Paiwan music.

These newly-launched activities raise questions about the strategies being employed to revive Paiwan flutes in this new phase with large state support. Both Pairang Pavavalung's and Gilegilau Paqalius's transmission teams have invested in promoting Paiwan music and culture as embedded within the ethos of Taiwan's cultural heritage management. In this section, I discuss how the practitioners develop their musical competence, and, most importantly, steer the music performance in new directions.

The issue of audiences is a significant one for the revival, as Aboriginal practitioners and scholars look for a proper way to extend nose flute playing beyond the form of solo performance. As mentioned earlier, there is no official Paiwan term for "music," "art," or "performance," although the Chinese term *yinyue* is often used in reference to the musical practices of Paiwan flutes today. Several Paiwan members highlighted the important distinction between staged performance for the purpose of appreciation and performance in intra-village activities. This results in an increase degree of professionalization. Performances today are often formal, rehearsed, and take place on various stages for audiences. Some people point out that people may lose interest in them due to the soft sounds, frequent long breath notes, and solo form of performance. Master artists and apprentices therefore respond to these emerging conditions by deploying their knowledge of music and crafting new ways and styles that are consistent with the expectations of diverse audiences, on the one hand, and that are presented as sustainable to their musical practice, on the other.

Expanding the Instrumental Music

One of the notable changes is the expansion of musical repertoires of Paiwan flutes, which include renditions of folk vocal songs, Christian hymns, early pop songs, and individually-composed instrumental works. Some locals expressed that they do not long for the return of what seems to some experts and government officials materials that are lost forever; change and re-creation is desirable if Paiwan flute playing is perceived to be a sustainable practice. As a key coordinator to both transmission teams, Zhou Ming-Jie emphasizes the importance of moving beyond "strict adherence to tradition" and to develop ways of performing that engage with new forms of musical expression.[126] He suggests that the combination of Paiwan polyphonic singing style (*cemikecikem*) and nose flutes can be a proper way to demonstrate the distinct Paiwan musical style. According to Gilegilau Paqalius, the three-holed flute is considered "more traditional" than the contemporary five- or six-holed versions. He notes that the conventional double-pipe nose flute is considered to be closely associated with the distinct texture of *cemikecikem* and thereby is believed to be an essential part of Paiwan-sounding mode.

Gilegilau Paqalius and his transmission team created a new form of performance he called *kininemeneman* ("thought")—playing the nose flute in a pseudo-improvised form in relation to Paiwan polyphonic singing (Figure 4.17).[127] Pairang Pavavalung's team also combined flute playing with Paiwan folk songs. Together this form of performance became a standardized style for new apprentices to learn. As this staged performance resembles the state's vision of venerated "performing art," the apprentices

[126] Personal communication. June 2, 2017. National Center for Traditional Arts, Yilan.

[127] *Kininemeneman* is a term Gilegilau used to refer to a form using nose flute to play underlying vocal melodies. As this word often appears in Hu Tai-Li's publication, it normally refers to the ways players "think and imagine by your own thoughts and feelings." Gilegilau also called this form as "*huanxianqu"* (幻想曲) in Chinese.

have practiced and performed this version for the final examination of Transmission Plans and various performances in recent years.

Figure 4.17: Gilegilau Paqalius (right) plays nose flute with a group of *cemikecikem* singing at the National Center for Traditional Arts. Photo by author, 2 June 2017.

Gilegilau notes that *lalingedan* players, instead of simply playing the same melody with vocals, are required to familiarize themselves with those Paiwan songs in order to improvise the responding or underlying melodies accordingly (see full transcription of Example 2 "Lumamadan" in Appendix A). Gilegilau's family is well known in the village for this combination of nose flute playing and older Paiwan singing styles. Because many of Gilegilau's family members (including his wife and her parents) are highly respected folk singers in the Paiwan community, he has been practicing his improvisation with Paiwan singing and performing in this form with his family for years.

As he stays relatively close to the solo Paiwan flute style, Gilegilau recalled that he has not seen other elders play nose flutes along with singing. While this form appears to be a new combination, committee members of Transmission Plans consider this capability of improvising on the nose flute with folk singing an integral part to the transmission. Gilegilau mentions that his mother-in-law, Kedrekedr Paqalius (whose Chinese name is Lin Gui-Feng 林貴鳳), a respected folk singer in her village, has given him advice on how to play the nose flute to match Paiwan singing in a stylized manner. In this manner, Gilegilau crafted his playing with the Paiwan singing style and deployed this capability as a distinct Paiwan musical craft that continues cultural convention. He has incorporated nose flute playing with several Paiwan songs, *cemikecikem* (Paiwan polyphonic singing) in particular, such as "Uilji," "Inaljaina," and "Uniyo." This capability to improvise along with Paiwan singing has also become an institutionalized musical craftsmanship, as Gilegilau's repertoires become an essential part of Transmission Plans.

Participatory and Community-building

While the government's initiative was primarily concerned with the bolstering of regional and national identity, practitioners who became involved in the grassroots activities were much more concerned about making the musical culture relevant as a means of community building. Numerous practitioners have emphasized the importance of using the combination of Paiwan flutes and older Paiwan songs to revitalize folk singing. According to Gilegilau and Zhou, the combination of nose flute playing and Paiwan singing has become a new way for apprentices to learn to sing Paiwan folk songs and enhance their native language skills. Instead of simply playing the same melody with vocals, the nose flute players are required to familiarize themselves with those Paiwan

songs in order to play the responding or underlying counter melodies accordingly. They made the songs a practice to learn the vocal counterpart before undertaking the flute playing. They emphasized that the inability of many youth to speak or sing in the Paiwan language affected their pronunciation and their depth of knowledge of the lyrics.

However, producing new methods of transmission or new performances is not a simple negotiation between the nation-state and local-centric cultural production. As discussed in Chapter Two, the individual or groups typically perform songs from their home villages. In different villages, even the same tune may have regional differences in local idioms and melodies. The learning process, which in this specific case reflects on the repertoire, is connected to the learner's exposure to a particular village's practice.

However, apprentices mentioned that because several Paiwan villages currently do not have active flute players, they would learn the instruments and incorporate them with folk singing in an effort to revitalize their folk songs and local idioms in their home villages (Rumetj Tjakulavu, April 28, 2018). Rumetj once performed the song "Luljemai" during the *masalut* in his village (Kulalau), but he expressed concern about whether people from his village would appreciate it because he played the rendition he learned from Gilegilau. As such, enacting Paiwan flute music involves not only the practicing and performing of the master's village's style and repertoires, but also the work by which practitioners create new methods of transmission and consult the individuals involved in their home village's conventions. As one apprentice GM explained:

> "The way the government has supported is mostly holding performances or workshops. We want to create the motivation for the younger generations to learn; we want them to understand what this instruments meant to the Paiwan in the past; we want to make the instruments part of their lives." (5 August 2017, personal communication)

The transmission of intangible cultural heritage includes works that are not limited to staged performance but instead are intended to impact directly on communities. The focus on the government-funded events and major cultural institutions may neglect the wide variety of activities that reside beyond the purview of the state, such as Christian church services and intra-village events.

Today, the majority of Paiwan villagers are Christian, including both master artists and their apprentices. Christian churches have been a crucial locus for educational institutions, local affairs, and even political activism for Aborigines, as many Aboriginal intellectuals are also active members at local churches. Due to the strong influence of Christianity, many of the hymns sung at local churches are folk tunes and in Paiwan language with Christian doctrines. This nature makes churches a potential site to nurture and promote Paiwan flutes at the grassroots level.

Some realized the importance of the engagement with Christian churches among the Aboriginal community and aim to learn and disseminate the music of Paiwan flutes further through the local network of the church. Despite the inherent "foreignness" of Christianity to the preservation, several Paiwan members have inserted Paiwan flutes into Christian worships and activities as a means of revitalization. For instance, Gilegilau and his apprentices have incorporated nose flute playing in Paiwan hymns for Christian worship. Instead of simply playing the same melody with chorus, playing nose flute in such a setting is a crafting process in which the players learn the Paiwan hymns and practice with other church members in order to play the responding part in a "Paiwan-sounding vein." Also, Gilegilau has adopted the rendition of Paiwan hymn and incorporated nose flute playing as part of the repertoires for transmission. For instance, the Paiwan hymn "*Su kilivak a nia Cemas*" is a Rukai/Paiwan tune "*Uniyu*" with Christian lyrics (Figure 4.18).

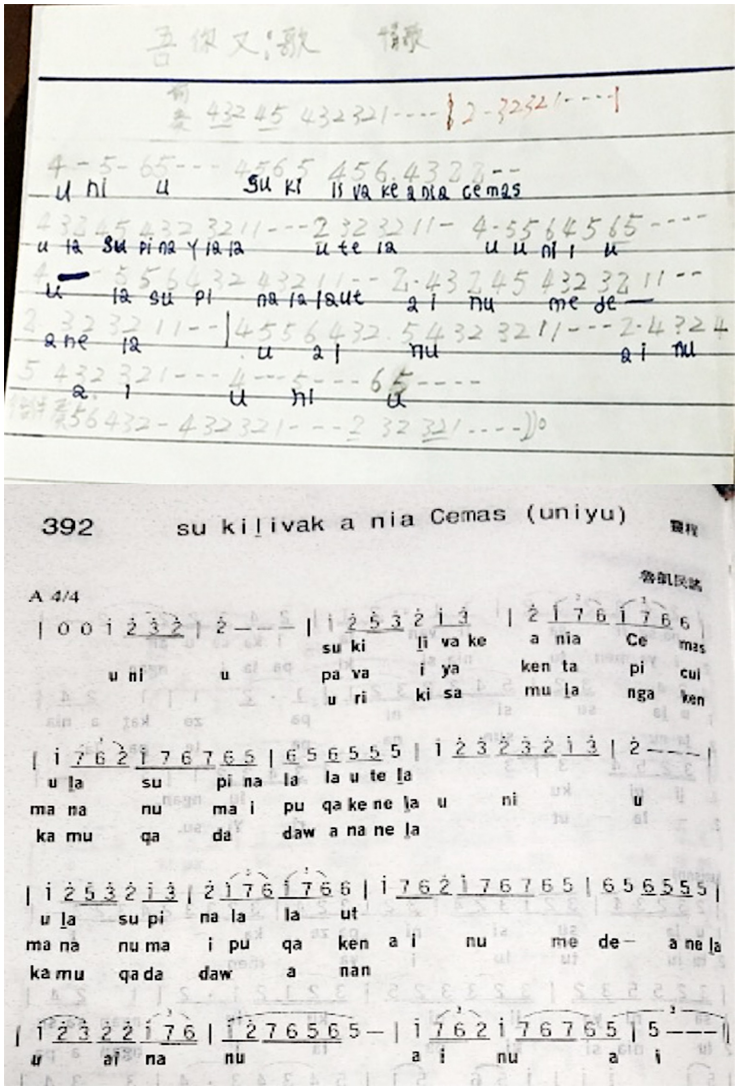

Figure 4.18: Gilegilau Paqalius' manuscript of "Uniyo" (up) and the Paiwan hymn "Su Kilivak a nia Cemas" (bottom) in *Paiwan hymnody* (*Senai tua Cemas*). Photo by author.

Neither Gilegilau nor his apprentices considered the resulting performance to be "inauthentic"; rather, they re-contextualized the nose flute playing in Christian church worships as a means of connecting the Paiwan musical practice to their local community

while acknowledging the influence of Christianity. In contrast to the image of a staged Paiwan performing art, their aim is to make Paiwan flutes an iconic musical expression of the village through the church network as well as adapt the music to promote the musical participation by practitioners outside the staged performance setting (Rumetj Tjakulavu, April 28, 2018).

In addition to the Christian church, master artists and apprentices have also performed in intra-village events and celebrations, which has been one of the few opportunities to re-affirm villagehood and a sense of community. For example, one of the apprentices re-contextualized the nose flute playing with Paiwan communal song-and-dance at the opening ceremony of a Catholic church in the village of Kapiyangan. The communal song-and-dance was performed by a traditional youth training association (*cakar*), which is essential for the village's public affairs and the transmission of insider knowledge, including song-and-dance.

In contrast to those government-funded performances, these emerging musical expressions are primarily created within the Paiwan-only sphere and are intended mostly for the local community. In collaboration with the youth training association, local churches, and community-based events, the practitioners promote the performance and emphasize a more participatory principle. As such, these intra-village musical activities served a social function to the local Paiwan community distinct from the staged performance prioritized by the state. Playing Paiwan flutes in these settings becomes a means not only for reinforcing the impression of the instruments as a symbol of the Paiwan group, but also integrating their repertory through participation within ceremonial performances.

Figure 4.19: Apprentice played nose flute in an intra-village event.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have adopted a critical organological approach to examine how craftsmanship, materiality, and embodiment are correlated within the transmission of Paiwan flutes. Instead of simply focusing on the revived music, a focus on instruments as a nexus of practice can help break down the division between tangibility and intangibility of the instruments, and help to tease out some of the ways in which Paiwan flutes are maintained, institutionalized, and contested over time. I started with the examination of the ontological process of Paiwan flute making and discussed how the particular craftsmanship is conceived to be constitutive of the Paiwan aesthetic. Then, I delved into the musical craftsmanship of how players craft one's own playing. While the government officially designated artists as "holders" of National Important Traditional Arts

contributing to building "authenticity" and national cultural diversity, I probed the ways in which these crafts (both instrument-making and playing) become institutionalized, and how practitioners transformed these forms to promote them at the local level. In this respect, I argue that musical instruments are linked with the sound, body, and performance in articulating a Paiwan-ness constructed through embodying narratives (specific playing techniques), stereotypes, and performances of assumed Paiwan "authenticity."

Chapter 5: From "Singing Our Songs" to "Singing in Our Language": Language Revitalization within Aboriginal Mother-Tongue Songwriting

*It is one of the summer days in August of 2017, a harvest ceremony (*masalut*) season for the Aboriginal Paiwan people in the southern Taiwan. In Paiwan Kapiyangan village, dozens of teenage boys and girls are sitting on hard benches along the two sides vis-a-vis each other. They are singing the Paiwan love songs they learned from the their elders. Unlike most of official-sponsored* masalut *ceremonies that typically feature tedious speeches of local officers on the schoolyard of the local elementary school, the* masalut *in Kapiyangan village is been hold in front of the chief's house, which is considered a convention by the community. While those teenage boys and girls are singing, many elders are sitting behind them and listening to them. They all seem to be moved by seeing those young people singing the older songs that recall some memories among their generation.*

I run into Gilegilav, who is an apprentice of the national designated artist Gilegilau Paqalius, and an active member for the cultural revitalization of Kapiyangan community. As one of the initiators for this activity, he says to me that they are glad to see those young people learning their older songs, even though it is not as improvisational as the elders' manner of singing. Through learning these songs, he says, the young people may learn about what these songs and singing activities mean to our community. He further notes, "despite the fact that elders sometimes express disagreement, we do hope finding some new ways for those young people to learn something from our tradition and explain why we do that to our elders. The world is changing, and the village is changing as well."

In August of 2018, I re-visited Kapiyangan village for the *masalut*. I accidentally saw the Paiwan artist Djanav Zengror, whom I met at the 2017 SEM Pre-conference

Symposium on Indigenous music in Colorado Springs, where he was invited as a guest musician. Djanav was there with his team working on a new TV program featuring the history of Kapiyangan village, participating in the entire process of the *masalut*. Sharing his view on this activity and some local Paiwan customs with me, Djanav recalled the ways he responded to those young learners and elders:

> When I came here [Kapiyangan village], I saw an elder sitting in front of a local store. I thought the elder must be capable of singing traditional songs, so I start singing a verse. Just as expected, the elder responded with another verse. Then, we sing with each other a while…our singing is like a dialogue. If you want to collect [our older songs], you need to sing and response to them in this way in order to dig more [lyrics and tunes] from these elders…These young people are probably not capable to sing [improvise] like that, as they still need to learn and memorize those songs. However, what they have been doing still deserves much praise, as they [local advocates] find a new way to teach young people about their past and older songs.

This story clearly reflects that the local community actively controls the direction of cultural change, rather than a passively protective isolationism. It also reflects the situation many of my Aboriginal interlocutors have encounters; how do practitioners find new ways to keep certain aspects of musical practice living in relation their reimagined past?

In this chapter I begin by outlining the contemporary Aboriginal mother-tongue songwriting in Taiwan since the 2000s, a period when the government supported a visible amount of funding to support Aboriginal culture.[128] In the recent decade there has been a growing trend among Aboriginal artists to compose so-called "mother-tongue songs" (*muyuge* 母語歌) in Taiwan alongside the increasing initiatives of revitalization of

[128] As the regime shift from KMT to DPP Party in 2000 opened up new ethnic politics, Aboriginal song and languages became a significant part of Taiwan's multiethnic composition that signals the island's distinctiveness from the mainland.

indigenous languages and cultures. The government has continually fostered the development of Aboriginal music through competition and festivals. This has been supported in part by government initiatives to foster diversity in the national arts. Indigenous movement has likewise led to a proliferating interest in festivals celebrating Aboriginal culture.

The proliferation of newly composed mother-tongue songwriting is often associated with branding strategies and globally circulated pop music to stimulate demand for such music in the music market. At the same time, the traditionalist discourses often highlight the tie between music and the revitalization of Aboriginal language: new songs are perceived to help revive older styles and the languages in which they were performed. By "mother-tongue songs" I target those newly composed songs by Aboriginal artists in their own heritage languages, which does not include those new forms of rearranged folk songs, and translated foreign and Christian songs in Aboriginal languages.

Mother-tongue songwriting within the context of the government's multiculturalism is often political; it is closely associated with the racialized or ethnicized formation of voice and constraints of one's own connection to their own heritage culture. Within such context, Aboriginal languages often become a symbolic token that reduces its use to political slogan, rituals, or folkloric performances. Mother-tongue songwriting, in this case, is different from the preservation of folk singing. It is a new production that re-imagines the interconnectedness of music, language, and ancestral heritage. The contest and revitalization projects have brought new ideas about Paiwan musical practice, which draw on values that are highly salient to Paiwan community.

Music festivals play a crucial role in bringing the revivalist community physically together, as Livingston argues:

> [These festivals and competitions] are crucial because revivalists meet each other face-to-face to share repertoire and playing techniques, to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of artists within the tradition, to actively learn and experience the revivalist ethos and aesthetic code at work, and to socialize among other "insiders." (1999:73).

The promotion of festivals also involves invitations to workshops on music and other related topics; or cultural exchanges in which visitors take instrument lessons, learn songs and dances, and attend festival performances. These events are fundamental to a revival's success for they supplement what can be learned from recordings and books with lived experiences and direct human contact (ibid). In particular, the indigenous cultural festival is an activity that can attract various governmental and other resources to enable indigenous people to do some of what they want with culture (Phipps, 2010:220-221). Much of this effervescence is the revivification of established rituals, community events, and celebrations as "festivals" (ibid).

This chapter therefore focuses on the Paiwan songwriting held as part of the *Senasenai Music Festival*, a government-funded event featuring Taiwanese Aboriginal music. The festival lasted almost a month, featured a series of workshops, mother-tongue songwriting camp, and music performance. I interrogate the ways in which the revitalization and performance of Paiwan songwriting and advocates have favored distinctive musical-linguistic features to articulate an "ideal" of Paiwan songs in an effort to revitalize the language and increase its popularity. Drawing on the emerging body of literature that concerns the role of music in revitalization projects of indigenous languages (Grant, 2013; Faudree, 2013; Samuels, 2015; Przybylski, 2018), I argue that songwriting becomes a creative and performative space for Paiwan musicians to activate a decolonizing consciousness that challenges the typical stereotypes of Aboriginal languages under the framework of multiculturalism.

CONTEXTUALIZING ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES IN TAIWAN

After the end of Martial Law in 1987, the so-called "vernacular language education" has increasingly become an essential part of the school education in Taiwan. One of the prominent policies regarding the language education is the implementation of an educational policy of the Ministry of Education since 2001, which requires elementary and high schools in Taiwan to incorporate courses for the study of vernacular language (*muyu jiaoxue*)—Hokkien, Hakka, and/or any of Aboriginal languages—in their elective curriculum. This trend also marks the transformation from forced colonial education to the inclusion of Aboriginal languages in the National Curriculum. The policy introduced a great demand for courses on Aboriginal languages and culture. In addition to regular school teachers, a number of supplementary teachers familiar with Aboriginal languages and culture and who obtained an official certificate as an Aboriginal language instructor have also been invited to teach this kind of course.

In accordance with the experiences of other indigenous peoples, Christian missionaries have played a significant role in translating Biblical passages and/or hymns into various Aboriginal languages. The Romanization of Aboriginal languages has also contributed to the formation of "mother-tongue songs," as scholars have pointed out that "missionary groups were by no means united in a belief in the importance of abolishing indigenous languages" in the context of Indian education in the U.S. (Field and Kroskrity, 2009:16). Through the compilation of hymnody, the Christian church has been a locus of educational institution that facilitates the standardization of Aboriginal languages and

introduces a kind of singing that was drastically different from that of pre-colonial vocal genres.[129]

Moreover, the writing system of Aboriginal languages has been crucial in shaping the ways young people learn, preserve, and re-create the language and musical genres in new forms. In 2005 the Ministry of Education and Council of Indigenous People published the writing system of Aboriginal languages, which includes the languages of 12 Aboriginal groups. On June 14, 2017, Aboriginal Languages Development Act effectively designated the languages of the 16 officially recognized Aboriginal groups as Taiwan's national languages, furthering efforts to protect the nation's diverse Aboriginal cultures.[130] The national recognition supports and encourages the standardization and promotion of Aboriginal languages, thus redirecting musicians to create and perform their music in certain ways.

While there has been a surge of new methods that attempt to bridge the gaps between young urban Aborigines and older keepers of insider knowledge and languages, the government acknowledged the value of "audiovisual publications and cultural performances" in creating a "friendly environment" for diverse vernacular languages.[131] For instance, the Councils of Indigenous Peoples (原住民族委員會) and Taiwan Indigenous Television (原住民族電視台) both devoted themselves to preserving and promoting the Aboriginal languages and music through funding and TV programs.

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[129] Earlier attempts of this sort in Taiwan can be traced back to 1968, when The Christian Bible Society began to use Roman alphabet to translate hymn and bible in Aboriginal languages. "Many devoted missionaries have studied tribal languages and have adapted various phonetic systems and have translated the bible or part of it into many different languages" (Loh, 1982:426). This was another route to cultivate their self-esteem at the time when the KMT government suppressed Aboriginal cultures and discouraged use of their own languages (ibid).

[130] The Taiwanese government promulgated the Indigenous Languages Development Act in order to "achieve historical justice, further preserve and promote the Aboriginal languages, and guarantee that the languages are used and passed down…"

[131] https://www.enable.org.tw/issue/item_detail/636

Meanwhile, Aboriginal communities have become increasingly involved in song preservation. As scholars point out, indigenous cultural forms that emphasize the link to "tradition" and the past have become powerful means to represent indigenous communities and to channel governmental funding toward their preservation (Faudree, 2013:11; Conlon, 2014:453). It is therefore worth discussing the potential role of music and songwriting in the politics of language revitalization.

THE FORMATION OF "MOTHER-TONGUE SONG"

Scholars have argued that the metaphor of the mother tongue naturalizes the relationship between a subject or community and their language (Weidman, 2006:156). Since the 1990s, the phrase of "the great four groups"—all variety of Han (mainlander, Hoklo, Hakka) and Aborigines—has become pervasive in Taiwanese sociopolitical discourse as a means to signal the multiethnic composition of the new Taiwanese identity (Brown, 2004:11). As a result of this official stance, the language of multiculturalism has made its way into the groundwork for the incorporation of ethnic groups, which is intended to build national unity. The recognition of ethnic groups within the nation has led to an escalating movement of encouraging unique cultures of ethnolinguistic groups (e.g., the Amis, the Bunun, the Paiwan) within certain bounds. Discourses of education for mother-tongue languages have become prevalent since then.

Along with the multiculturalism, there has recently been an escalating trend to write so-called "mother-tongue songs" (*muyuge* 母語歌). This ubiquitous term in current Taiwanese cultural discourses generally refers to composed songs using the songwriters' heritage languages. While local communities often regarded songs as the core of local knowledge and its revitalization, the Taiwanese government has initiated funding projects

to support songwriting and folk singing in Aboriginal languages. This funding prompted a surge of revivalist activity, ranging from song competitions, new publications, audiovisual materials, and websites, to research and pedagogical projects.[132] These initiatives have played a crucial role in stimulating a dramatic increase in musical production, as Aboriginal musicians across the region now write songs in their own heritage languages. The rise of academies, in turn, has supported the creation of regional and national festivals where new bands and artists can publicly demonstrate their skills and compositions.

Competitions and contests can likewise be a crucial component of the process of institutionalization; they enforce rules and ideologies that encourage the styles and contents that have a strong connection to the past. For example, the Taiwan Music Composition and Songwriting Contest, cofounded in 2004 by the Taiwanese Cultural Ministry, Hakka Affairs Council and the Council of Indigenous Peoples, is one of the most prominent songwriting contests promoting the songwriting in minority languages in Taiwan. The contest is divided into three groups according to language: Hokkien, Hakka and Aboriginal language (Figure 5.1). In the same vein, in 2003 the Golden Melody Awards (the Taiwanese equivalent of the Grammys), founded and presented by the Ministry of Culture, divided the category of Best Vernacular Language Singer into Best Male or Female Taiwanese singer, Best Hakka Singer, and Best Aboriginal Singer in order to "encourage musical creations in Hakka and Aboriginal languages." In 2005, the Award further divided Best Pop Music Album into four main categories based on

[132]The Directions for Funding Aboriginal Audiovisual and Cultural Creative Industry, promulgated by the Taiwan government's Council of Indigenous People in 2011, has devoted a large amount of funding to numerous productions of Aboriginal films, albums, and TV programs. The funded projects focusing on Paiwan albums include Sauniaw Tjuveljvelj's album *Listen! The Great Voice of An Indigenous Woman* 聽 . 女人聲音 (2011), Djanav Zengror's *Rhythm of Path* 聽路 (2012), and Seredau and Wu Yun-Sheng's *fengde nengliche* 風的能力者 ("Master of the Wind").

language: Best Mandarin Album, Best Taiwanese Album, Best Hakka Album, and Best Aboriginal Album.

Figure 5.1: 2016 Taiwan Music Composition and Songwriting Contest. Photo by author.

Another indication of the rise of "mother-tongue songs" alongside the competitions was the sudden increase of newly composed mother-tongue songs and commercial recordings. In 2000, the Bunun singer-songwriter Biung Wang (王宏恩) released his first album in the Bunun language, *The Hunter*, through the Wind Record Company. This album is the first Aboriginal mother-tongue album released through a commercial record company, and more and more Aboriginal artists have released a "mother-tongue album" since then. Overall, "mother-tongue song" as a category appears

more frequently in Taiwan's cultural discourse, pop music industry, and educational institutions.[133]

Many pointed out that this kind of publicly funded event primarily aims to "encourage" songwriting in minority languages and boost cultural and language revitalization.[134] However, these awards and competitions within the government's democratic multiculturalism reinforce, consciously or not, certain ethnic traits of minority languages that fit with tokenism; official discourses may incorporate the communities' commitment to song preservation, making the languages of these ethnolinguistic groups the symbolic tokens. This tokenism involves iconization in which the linguistic features associated with social groups "appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a group's inherent nature of essence" (Irvine and Gal, 2000).

Mother-tongue songwriting is more than the reminiscences of early singers or folk-singing styles. Rather, it requires a certain degree of innovation. There are differences of opinion over how to interpret the relationship between the music, heritage languages, and ancestral roots. The styles of award-wining albums and recordings range from mother-tongue songs that resemble traditional styles to those that adopt elements of global pop genres such as reggae and hip-hop. Unlike the majority languages such as Chinese or English, that are less constrained by any style imaginable, the "endangered" status of Aboriginal language has intensified the debate among Aboriginal singers and

[133] It has been a controversial issue in Taiwan to categorize awards and songwriting contests based on languages. This concern is evident in an episode in 2007 Golden Melody Awards; the winner of both the Best Hakka Singer and the Best Hakka Album of the year, Lin Sheng-Xiang, refused to accept their awards. The main reason was that such categorization of awards based on languages, in his opinion, only deepens the Han-centric view and the dichotomy between mainstream (Han) and non-mainstream, in which minorities such as Hakka and Aborigines have been marginalized.

[134] According to Ministry of Culture's website, Taiwan Music Composition and Songwriting Contest is meant to cultivate artists for pop music industry, as well as revitalize the transmission of multiple local languages in Taiwan. http://www.bamid.gov.tw/m/405-1000-3242,c287.php, accessed June 28, 2017.

advocates about whether "mother-tongue songs" should be limited to traditional contexts or incorporate new elements.[135]

Nevertheless, many Aboriginal mother-tongue songwriters were known for their use of Aboriginal languages as living languages. In a forum on Aboriginal pop music organized by the Museum of Contemporary Art Taipei, Cheng Jie-Ren (鄭捷任), a music producer who collaborates with numerous Aboriginal singers and was a jury member for the Taiwan Music Composition and Songwriting Contest, points out that many newly composed mother-tongue songs are actually challenging traditional language use and structure (especially hip-hop).[136] Employing novel sounds in mother-tongue songs is not new among Aboriginal musicians, as the vinyl discs and cassette tapes from earlier periods illustrate (Figure 5.2). What is new in the current situation, however, is how Aboriginal artists employ different aesthetics and strategies to retrace their heritage language and gain popularity in relation to the currently dominant language ideology and global music industry.

[135] As has been noted of the world music category in the Euro-American commercial music scene, the "purer" music did not sell very well; what sold, and continues to sell, are music that is more palatable…music that is heard as "hybrid" (Taylor 2012:178) (Rees 2016:74).

[136] According to Cheng, during the first few times of annual Taiwan Music Composition and Songwriting Contest, each contestant was required to have a certain degree of fluency in their mother-tongues. Contestants were reviewed by the experts who have proficiency in the designated language for their capability in the designated language in the first round of review. In the second round, the qualified contestants were evaluated by professional music producers in the pop music industry for their musical composition, creativity, and connection to their roots.

Figure 5.2: Cassettes featuring Aboriginal mother-tongue songs from earlier period. Source: record collector Eric Scheihagen. Photo by author.

Unlike the Aboriginal songs that are written by Han Chinese, "Aboriginal mother-tongue song" marks a strong connection to songwriters' own ancestral lines. The growing trend of composing in mother-tongue language among Aboriginal singer–songwriters is characterized by "a personal style, underwritten by a strong Aboriginal consciousness" (Tan, 2008:230). Thus, the movement of singing in mother-tongue languages did not entail a mere switching of languages (i.e. from Mandarin to Aboriginal languages), but rather a new set of responses for which different artists tie music, language, and culture together.

SONG AS AN ANALYTICAL CATEGORY

Scholars have proposed a more unified means of representing the mutual dependencies of language and other forms of cultural revitalization, rather than a false dichotomy of language and music (Faudree, 2013:18; Samuels, 2015:349). Songs are not simply a written product of music or text to be unpacked, but a process that involves the physical performance of singing. Regarding "song" as an analytical category, I examine how the examination of musical-linguistic signs and their intersection in vocal practices may open up new paths for studies on Aboriginal songwriting. Recent ethnographies of songs have explored specific vocal practices in relation to language ideologies and broader socio-political contexts—from the role of Mazathec language singing in indigenous revival projects in Mexico (Faudree, 2013), Tamil music movement in South India that tied Tamil language, music, and Tamilian subjectivity together (Weidman, 2006), to how differences of vocal practice between *pansori* singing and Christian hymn *songga* have contributed to discourses surrounding national "progression" and modernity in South Korea (Harkness, 2013).[137]

Ethnomusicologists likewise have regarded voice as a performative and material phenomenon to amplify or challenge the obviously "ethnic" elements to listeners (Furh, 2013; Stokes, 2017), relating vocal reference in contemporary compositions to traditional Chinese ways of voicing (Lau, 2013), and discussing the differences in training and socialization that result in different sonic qualities (e.g., the "covered" sound of coloratura soprano vs. the "twangy" vocal sound produced by a country singer) (Samuels

[137] According to Harkness, "traditional" vocal production—a nasal head voice, a falsetto with narrow vibrato, or a husky chest voice with expressive vibrato—is considered a sign of suffering and backwardness, while the "clean" voice of Christian music has become a sign of progression in contemporary South Korea (2013:112).

and Porcello, 2015).[138] These approaches are useful to investigate how mother-tongue song is understood as the embodiment of sung performances that intersect with a particular ideology, socialization, agency, and authority. The performative flexibility of songs and singing, therefore, makes mother-tongue songs a crucial mediator that speaks to how the artists reimagine themselves in relation to past musical practice and heritage language.

SONGWRITING, LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

Government-funded events and competitions have also intensified the hierarchy of languages in Taiwan. In fact, Aboriginal mother-tongue albums have long been marginalized in the mainstream Han-dominated market of pop music, due to the lack of accessibility of their meanings for non-native audience.[139] Even if Aboriginal elements such as non-lexical syllables appear in the mainstream pop music market, their usage normally is associated with record companies' strategies to brand stars' Aboriginal status. On the other hand, discourses about mother-tongue song in majority languages like Hokkien (Taiwanese dialect) appear to be more tolerant of nontraditional elements, since Han Hokkien speakers have relatively fewer problems with the preservation of their mother tongue. Introducing older styles or genres into contemporary songwriting is neither a simple nor homogenous process for members of Aboriginal communities. Since heritage languages have increasingly become a "badge of identity" or a symbolic form of

[138] Lau (2013) illustrates how the vocal performance in Chinese composer Chen Yi's (陳怡) composition can be related to Chinese ways of voicing, such as *yi* (吟), *nian* (唸), *chang* (唱), *son* (頌).

[139] A number of Aboriginal pop singers-songwriters in the mainstream music market, such as A-Mei (張惠妹) and Ayal Komod Chang (張震嶽), normally sing or write in Mandarin and seldom release songs in their native languages. Suming Rupi also points out that in his early career his desire to release mother-tongue album was discouraged by his record company due to profit considerations.

cultural difference, Aboriginal communities have attained a heightened state of awareness concerning the revitalization of Aboriginal languages and group identity.

This case study contributes to the increasingly interdisciplinary discussion of language revitalization that haunted many minority language speakers and communities. Linguist Leanne Hinton defines language revitalization as "the various ways in which people are working to keep their languages alive or bring them back into use" (Hinton 2001: 5). A growing body of literature on language revitalization in North America has critically examined how revitalization strategies might have narrow perspectives on language that are potentially harmful to the language communities (De Korne and Leonard, 2017). Addressing how the "tragic" metaphor of language survival encourages language documentation as a remedy for language "death," Perley (2012) draws attention to how community members use their heritage language in new ways and thereby are practicing "emergent vitalities" of the language. Likewise, Leonard argues for a need to distinguish between language revitalization and reclamation. While language revitalization tends to call for a focus on creating speakers, he considers language reclamation as a larger effort by "a community to claim its right to speak a language and to set associated goals in response to community needs and perspectives" (Leonard, 2017:19). This thread of scholarship attempts to eschew the colonial perspective on "language" that mostly emphasizes semantico-referential components, focusing instead on a local community's perception of their heritage language and how efforts can meet desired community's needs and outcomes.

As the Aboriginal songwriters I encountered aim to create a public that includes both Aborigines and non-Aborigines, I use the term revitalization here to examine how various social actors shape the perception of Aboriginal languages in the realm of mother-tongue songwriting. I am also aware of the importance of incorporating the

community's view on how "language" is articulated and given socio-cultural meanings. Songwriting and singing can serve as a useful lens through which to examine how musical praxis interacts with language learning (Przybylski, 2018:386). For example, Samuels suggests that the total physical response involved in singing engages the language learner in both cognitive and embodied planes of practice (2015:348). Along this line, I argue that many Aboriginal artists consider singing a core act for language learning. While the intersection of music and language learning is a broad topic that has been attractive to scholars, my concern in this chapter is examining practices of Paiwan songwriting based on fieldwork I have undertaken for this dissertation.

Unsurprisingly, many urban Aborigines of the younger generations speak Chinese more fluently than their mother tongue, a consequence of the KMT government's assimilated education policy. A number of Aboriginal artists or advocates regard traditional singing as a significant mode of expression for Aboriginal communities, making it a core of cultural revitalization. The director of the Taiwu Ancient Ballad Troupe, Camak Valaule, explained as follows:

> "Although a Paiwan song may have only two to three words or lines, it tells a story, so when teaching the tunes to the children; not only the lines are taught, but also the cultural meaning that the words point to. This is why a lot of time is needed to collect the ballads."[140]

Songwriting as a medium for Aboriginal language learning is not simply a way to revitalize native language use. It is also a potential way to invest the language with creative potential. One of the major critiques of school language education is that it has been restricted to the academic domains of language use in limited contexts (Przybylski,

[140] https://www.roc-taiwan.org/us_en/post/4566.html

2018).[141] For young learners who refuse to limit heritage languages to the past or in the classroom, songwriting becomes an alternative way to speak about popular topics and contemporary issues among the community. In fact, some singer-songwriters refused to repackage their music as part of the nationwide language revitalization movement. In an interview, the members of the Paiwan hip-hop group Boxing point out that they simply want to ignite people's interest in their culture through music, saying that "we are playing music, not teaching Paiwan language."[142] Suming Rupi, an active Amis pop star, has released his Amis albums that combining Amis language and global pop genres. Marketing "Amis music" as a brand, his mother-tongue songs feature a living culture in Amis language to confront dominant language ideologies (Aboriginal languages as a token). Suming mentioned that he is most interested in passing down his culture and attracting attention to the Amis language in as many different ways as possible (personal communication, 15 November 2018, Albuquerque).

On the other hand, "talking on Indigenous terms" can be considered a major aspect of the decolonial process among many indigenous activists, which requires "communicative facility through Indigenous languages and music" (Przybylski, 2018). This is where musical practices intervene. Songwriting has become a creative and performative space for sharing cultural knowledge, as well as motivating younger speakers to use their heritage tongues in a living manner (Przybylski, 2018). In this sense, it also provides a crucial space for Aboriginal singer-songwriters to develop their own voices and challenge the dominant ideology of Aboriginal languages as a token. In the

[141] In the case of Taiwan's Hakka, Hsu Hsin-Wen points out that some students take the vernacular language class merely to meet the school's curriculum requirement. In many cases only a few students in a class spend the time and energy to learn about the language and culture, and many of these serious students make the effort because they wish to win local speech or music contests (typically folk songs) in vernacular languages (Hsu, 2014). I have witnessed a similar attitude toward school language lessons among my Aboriginal interlocutors.

[142] https://www.matataiwan.com/2015/08/23/interview-with-boxing-a-mei/, accessed Feb. 20, 2019.

case of Paiwan songwriting, singer-songwriters demonstrate various ways of reimagining Paiwan language and evoke a self-consciously "Paiwan" sound: incorporating heritage language and its stylized expressions; adopting distinctive vocal timbres and musical styles; composing lyrics that addresses contemporary issues.

The growing presence of pop Aboriginal singer-songwriters and their commercial success are not the only impact of their musical production. Rather, they engage with their home villages in various ways, expressing those experiences as the central value of their songs. Ibun, who is a manager of numerous Aboriginal singers and was a member of AM Ensemble, remarks that some Aboriginal singer-songwriters gained influence by mediating experience that associated their home villages with both insiders and outsiders, making their music different from those who did not stress their Aboriginal status.[143] Thus, for Aboriginal communities, mother-tongue songwriting is much more than a commercial strategy or a matter of musical taste/artistic movement. Rather, it becomes an act that intersects with songwriters' engagement with cultural learning and community empowerment.

SENASENAI MUSIC FESTIVAL

There has been an upsurge of Aboriginal music festivals in Taiwan that represent local Aboriginal musical culture and forge links with other international indigenous artists around the world in the recent years, both funded by the government and grassroots events. Senasenai Music Festival, held for one month in Pingtung County, boasts five main performances that feature various musical themes in local regions. Held

[143] Personal interview with Ibun, Taipei, July 20, 2017.

in Pingtung County in 2016 and 2018, this festival is sponsored by the Department of Indigenous Peoples of the Pingtung County government.

Despite the fact that this festival has also been held as part of the initiative to promote local tourism in Pingtung County through a celebration of "the abundance of Aboriginal musical culture," the festival was mainly organized by a team of Aborigines, including local artists, cultural workers, and officials at the county government's Department of Indigenous Peoples.[144] The founder of the festival, Camak Valaule, notes that the festival was initially established as a series of music performances that featured both pop and local Aboriginal artists, and the festival is organized around five different themes: Aboriginal craft markets; Aboriginal rock bands; new folk songs (新民謠); traditional ancient tunes (傳統古調); Aboriginal pop music. These themes provide a space for Aboriginal singer-songwriters to perform their works, marking out a new conception of musical Aboriginality. In addition, the festival featured workshops taught by experienced members of performing groups, artists, or cultural workers, as well as a youth camp of mother-tongue songwriting. All of these activities aligned with the launch of the first *Senasenai* Music Festival in 2016 as an event devoted to "the perpetuation, preservation, and promotion of the art of Aboriginal culture through education."

Youth Songwriting Camp

As part of the Senasenai Music Festival, the youth songwriting camp, initiated by Camak Valaule, invites young songwriters to live at the site of the old village for a week, writing songs to encourage the use of their heritage languages. This intensive songwriting camp was held at the old site of Sepaiwan village, located in the Tjakalaus mountain area

[144] http://titv.ipcf.org.tw/program-211, accessed May 3, 2019. The Pingtung County government has funded the *Kacalisian* series of Aboriginal cultural festival, which has been held for four years since 2015. The Senasenai Musical Festival was held in 2016 and 2018 as part of this series.

without "the distraction" of phone signals or the Internet, focusing on the learning of Paiwan language and music within an "ancestral Paiwan environment" (Figure 5.3).[145] Nowadays, many Paiwan communities have relocated in new sites closer to the plains, but a lot of Aboriginal activists still consider these old sites the center of the revitalization of their knowledge and culture. Several Paiwan people I knew still occasionally traveled back and forth between the new site and the old site.

According to the course arrangement, the camp is not intended to reinforce an inherent conservatism. The daily classes provide training and lectures given by Paiwan language experts, cultural workers, professional musicians, and producers in music market (five lecturers are Aborigines, two are Han). The camp also took the students on a journey through the village, which also contributes to the pedagogy of on-site learning and cultural context. In the evenings, all participants congregated in a casual musical-social gathering, which was a popular way for village members to hang out in the past. In this setting, they can spontaneously develop skills and sincere feeling to play and sing meaningfully together. This also became a space for students to share and practice their own compositions with each other, as well as discussing the different approaches applied to their own compositions. In composing the lyrics, songwriters typically work with peers to set the lyrics to music. Collaboratively, participants listened to each other's work and gave feedbacks. In short, the location and various landscapes of the village provided a space for participants to work together, as well as an venue for them to get a more tangible sense of the people, soundscape, older lifeways, and stories of Paiwan villages.

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[145]According to a post on Senasenai Musical Festival's Facebook page, Camak Valaule says, "I want to bring our young musicians to our old village, to live in the slate house for perhaps five days, and it's even better without electricity. I will ask the *vuvu* (elders) to tell the stories, ask cultural workers to talk about folk songs, so they [young musicians] can understand the linguistic expression of our elders. I hope they will inspire each other, and give an 'unplugged' presentation of their songs in front of the house of the *mamazangilan* (chief)."

Figure 5.3: The old site of Sepaiwan village. Photo courtesy of Ibun.

Eight students in their 20s attended the songwriting camp, including those who from different Paiwan villages and other ethnolinguistic groups (the Bunun, the Rukai, the Han) who are interested in songwriting in their mother-tongue languages. One teacher of Paiwan language helped participants to polish and revise their own song lyrics. Variations in Paiwan vocabulary are typically associated with an individual's clan or region. Instead of assuming everyone is from the same region, the teacher always asked from which local village the songwriter hailed in order to properly assist with revising and to ensure that the revision accurately conveyed what the songwriter wanted to express. When the teacher turned to me, she realized that I was not from an Aboriginal

village at all, so she decided to assist me using the language from her own region. This process was intended to help participants to develop their own sense of linguistic flow, explore their understanding of native words and intonations, and to proudly emphasize their local identities and the local language uses that index their communities of origin.

Songwriting becomes a crucial site to examine how songwriters reconcile the professional side of being an individual performer with the issues they encountered in representing their culture. In fact, the songwriters with whom I worked formed their own bands in the standard pop-band configuration (vocal, guitars, a bass, and a drum set/percussion), whether professionally or as a hobby. In other words, most of them are already familiar with the elements and musical language of pop bands—such as keys, chords, bass lines, grooves, and song structure—and many of their compositions followed this convention. However, when dealing with elements that derived from older styles, there are certain rules that songwriters try to avoid. As discussed in Chapter Two, a number of Paiwan members mentioned that songs performed for rituals are prohibited when it comes to live entertainment performances, even if people think those songs are distinctive or beautiful.[146] However, songwriters still use some characteristics like vocal timbre or melodic motifs that derive from their heritage language in order to create new songs that can both fit with pop genres and create the feel of the connection with their ancestral roots.

Mother-tongue Songwriting: A learning Process

In fact, it is common among young songwriters to translate their song lyrics from Mandarin to Paiwan; translation is a process for many young songwriters who wish to create lyrics for music, sometimes with the assistance from the elders or teachers. Despite

[146] Personal interview with Ibun, Taipei, July 20, 2017.

the fact that translation as a pedagogical method still has its limitations, an elder or teacher can assist with ways of thinking in the language and its possible connotations. The Paiwan singer-songwriter A-Bao (Aljenljeng Tjaluvie), who is the winner of The 2017 Best Aboriginal Album of Golden Melody Award, particularly features one track called "*nia ljavalan*" ("Our chatting") in her awarded album *Vavayan* (Women). This track is not a song recording but instead a recording of the conversation between A-Bao and her mother about her Paiwan lyrics. Acknowledging her lack of skill in spoken Paiwan, A-Bao translated her song lyrics from Mandarin to the Paiwan with the assistance of her mother, who was also a singer from the earlier period of cassette recordings. By doing this, Aboriginal songwriters ensure the linguistic variation based on clan or regional difference, rather than sticking to a standardized or essentialized Paiwan language.

Because translation from Mandarin fails to fully convey the internal logic of the Aboriginal language, it is a common experience among young songwriters to inquire elders about song lyrics. As many Aboriginal singers remark, chatting with elders is an effective way to learn their mother tongue. Based on my observation at the camp, songwriting involves the process in which songwriters sing their composed lyrics with melodies, listen to their recording, and revise the words, phrases, and melodies accordingly. This process requires them to inquire of elders or language experts about the connotations and pronunciations of certain words in order to properly set their lyrics into the music. As the following conversation between a student and the teacher at the camp reflected:

PS: Does *Samiring* mean beautiful?

> Teacher: *Samiring* means that one's words, deeds, behaviors, and dressing are all matching. If there is a girl whose speech, *nasi* (breath or life), and dressing are all matching, that's *samiring*. It is not just about beautiful, but a holistic impression.
>
> PS: If I want to sustain *samiring* at the end of phrase, can I sing *samirin-miring* [use the reduplicative to fit the phrase]?
>
> Teacher: Um… I suggest you do not use *samirin-miring* here because it may confuse with *milimilingan* (myth story). If you want to sustain the word *samiring*, you may do it on the syllable *mi*-… Because *samirin-miring* is a reduplicative, people may misunderstand it as "fake" *samiring*. Using reduplicative in Paiwan language may imply fakeness.

Scholars have pointed out that the Paiwan language is composed of long words and a relatively large phonemic repertoire. Words with multiple syllables are not rare in Paiwan (Chen, 2004; Zhou, 2012a). For example, words like *mamazangiljan* (nobility) and *milimilingan* (myth story) contain multiple syllables, just to name a few. This feature, or, perhaps, language ideology, opens up the musical possibilities of Paiwan text insertion and melodic composition.

Beside the connotations of certain words, songwriters have to hear how the words in the lyrics are properly pronounced and its intonations in order to compose in their mother tongue. Some aspects of languages beyond grammar and lexicon might be hard to learn without listening/singing, such as the particular tonal aspects or "voice" of the language. One often-heard saying among the songwriters with whom I work is "you have to hear how elders speak…otherwise your songs would probably sound like you are simply transferring the melody of a Mandarin song to a mother-tongue song."[147] Additionally, as noted by one of the lecturers at the camp, the lyrics of pop songs typically rely on attentiveness and a kind of restraint through which they keep from saying too much and making it too complicated. The process requires the songwriter to

[147] This statement is my paraphrases of other people's words.

think of recognizable vocabulary and craft the lyrics carefully in relation to the music in order to "reinforce the impression of the song."

Song Texts, Expression, Metaphor

Songwriting inevitably involves a process of familiarizing with the language use and quality, as well as a process of re-creating the language into song lyrics. Several participants I spoke with considered song texts a key facet to sustain highly distinctive Paiwan poetic structures. They remark that Paiwan folk songs are traditionally framed in terms of natural metaphors, and Paiwan texts came to revolve around the animals, insects, landforms and rivers that identified the spaces in which the songs were sung (Zhou, 2012:91). This principle frames Paiwan folk singing as a practice that enacts a series of named places and species scattered around the mountain landscape, each a center of pastoral activity. Paiwan lyrical style often features themes of love, nature, and personal experience, which are key to sustaining the Paiwan ontology through the act of singing. In this case, song texts were both "vehicles for courtship and ecological schemata, co-inscribing amorous intent, lovelorn woe and natural wisdom into the landscape" (Tucker, 2016:331).

Numerous Paiwan songwriters and cultural workers have considered this natural ontology a core component in ways that still influence contemporary songwriting. In an interview, the Paiwan singer-songwriter Balai, who won the Best Aboriginal Album at the 2016 Golden Melody Awards, describes his experience in writing his songs in the Paiwan language. He recounts the characteristics of the Paiwan language as follows:

> The vocabulary of Paiwan is not as extensive as Chinese. Grasping these words requires one's imaginations and expressions of humanized metaphors. For example, some lyrics express about what the sun is "doing" or "saying"…It is hard to grasp the meaning of a single Paiwan word simply by the word itself. You

> have to put the word within a sentence, even the whole conversation, in order to understand what it really means.[148]

Some Paiwan scholars and musicians have mentioned that elderly singers typically do not express one thing "directly." Rather, those singers often use metaphor to refer to one thing by mentioning another. Lavuras a Kadrangian, a Paiwan expert who specializes in Paiwan oral literature, points out that Paiwan singers in the past could improvise freely, and they learned folksongs through everyday practices. During the songwriting camp, Lavuras described aspects of core aesthetic principles of Paiwan oral tradition and taught the basic Paiwan vocabulary in archaic forms of poetic sayings that are no longer in everyday use. Lamenting the ways in which young artists mimic the style of commercial pop music and write songs in language that is entirely devoid of poetic metaphor, he taught the lyrical style of a number of Paiwan songs from his region and a few more famous ones from around the Paiwan. One of the key skills of improvisation and text insertion, he argues, is using spontaneous metaphors to sing about certain things. The folk singers' song texts are contextually invented on the spot, depending on the occasions in which they sing. Things such as plants, flowers, animals, weather, personal ornaments (e.g., glass beads), and the natural landscape can be the subjects for the use of metaphors. For instance, the Paiwan term *taleng* (a local pine or fir species) has been used as a metaphor to depict the preciousness of love as the precious highland pine or fir trees in Paiwan singing (Zhou, 2012:92). Examples of this kind of metaphor is illustrative in the song "Laisu" as allows:

> *kavalanga milingan, aza u singlitan ta nu sun,*
> *namaya ta vaudj yi kavulunga,*
> *ana kicaying tua taljavulunga a kasiv,*

[148] https://www.thenewslens.com/article/37652, accessed February 2, 2019.

kavalanga kin a mare kasiv sun.

Ah! It's like a myth.
My longing for you is like an old rattan on the mountain kavulunga, rooting deeply on an antique tree.
I wish you were the tree.[149]

Djanav Zengror, another Paiwan musician, also considered the stylized metaphor as an important component of Paiwan singing. When I discussed Djanav's songs with him, he was careful to underline the special, original nature of the particular plant or flora choice. For instance, he recalled that, "if you are using certain things as a metaphor to refer to nobility [praise them], you have to carefully choose something that fits with their status."

As the director-in-residence for the camp, Ibun mentions that the prosodic expression is a key in Paiwan songwriting. When I asked him to provide an example, he told me to listen to the album *Driftwood* (2014), a work of the Paiwan singer-songwriter Dakanow Luluan, who is also one of the lecturers for the songwriting camp. Despite the fact that the lyrics in this album are written in Chinese, Ibun still suggested that the expression of Dakanow's lyrics features a "Paiwan flavor." Themes of ancestry, loss, longing, and hospitality are expressed through locally familiar metaphors like the ones that appeared in older Paiwan singing. For example, a selected portion of his song "*Calisi*" ("The Mountainside") illustrates such expression that conveys some metaphorical meaning rather than expressing it directly:

Calisi Calisi Calisi Calisi (Paiwan) [Mountainside]
Duantue de shanglu shushanfeishu feibuguoqu (Mandarin)
[Flying squirrels in the trees found no line of flight across the broken road]

[149] *100 Years Paiwan, Magnificent Reconstruction: Paiwanese Chief Negrenger* (2011).

Calisi Calisi Calisi Calisi (Paiwan) [Mountainside]

Ganku de tushiliu manmanhuaxia yidao henji (Mandarin)

[Dried-out landslides left behind scars in broad brushstrokes]

By the same token, one of the participants in the songwriting camp, PS, was clear in expressing his intention of incorporating metaphorical expression into his lyrics:

Nu vuluvulung a caquwan

Vincikanljata milimilingan

Padjadjalu na caucau kata qinatiyan, tja dralengedrengav

Tja liguav ta na gemati

Semenasenai ziyaziyani, kalevalevai!

The ancient culture is the wisdom of ancestry

The beautiful totem is like the myth stories

The creation in the universe has the beautiful interaction with people

Sing the songs belong to us, praise the greatness of our Creator

Singing! Dancing! Let us happily get together!

Since those native terms are pervasive in songs of Paiwan, several songwriters have come to research these names of places, beings, and oral histories. Some even actively participated in an intra-village youth training association that has been mobilized for ritual events, communal-based activities, cultural transmission, and musical-cultural revitalization. While the five-day camp might not be a panacea, it has much more potential to ignite the importance of songwriting as a learning process to retrace those forms of older expressions. As Dakanow mentioned at the camp, “the techniques or theories of songwriting can be learned any other time, but behind all of these what is

central to your mother-tongue songwriting is a strong connection [identity]" (3 November 2016). Thus, songwriting can be regarded as a vehicle for the songwriters to introduce older forms of expression into contemporary songs.

The "Paiwan Voice"

Voice has been a concern in the songwriting camp, as it has underlined the embodiment and materiality of vocal utterance (Stokes, 2017:28). When Aboriginal languages become the target for songwriting, the vocality employed by the singers may invoke cultural-specific meanings, just as the voice involves the ongoing orientation to and alignment with certain sonic values (Harkness, 2013:46). More specifically, the human voice, like music, is by nature "racialized" (Bohlman and Radano, 2000). The questions remain: which and whose voice? What makes of the identifiably Paiwan voice, and when? Numerous Paiwan members lament that many Aboriginal bands or choirs simply applied Western methods of vocal production. This concern reflects the impact of Christianity on Aboriginal communities and the influence of Western music education, in which Western vocal production is adopted. However, the rise of Aboriginal languages revitalization in the last decade also triggered the local consciousness of applying local vocal styles. The director of Puzagalan Choir, Muni Takivalit, notes that "the old Paiwan melodies are sung by producing sounds from the chest and the throat at the same time, giving the voices a penetrating quality."[150] Along a similar line, Zhou Ming-Jie notes that Paiwan men typically produce sound from the chest and throat, while women use their throat and nasal voice (2012:267-68).

Based on my observation, Paiwan singers from the older generation normally have a particular way of singing—a relatively small mouth shape and relatively soft way,

[150] Liu, Ying-Feng. 2017. "The Puzagalan Children's Choir: Spreading Hope to the World." *Taiwan Panorama* 42(10):117-22.

compared to Christian and Western *bel canto* singing. Compared to song texts, the technical aspects of Paiwan singing style are seldom directly addressed. Zhou Ming-Jie commented insightfully on the matter of voice in the songwriting camp. As one of the lecturers, Zhou points out that "traditional Paiwan singing" is actually different from the general characterization of Aboriginal singing as wide-ranging *siho* (嘶吼 shout), and its vocal quality is not as generally characterized as *liaoliang* (嘹亮 loud and brighter). According to Zhou, this lingering stereotypical association of the essentialized Aboriginal voice with flamboyant "shouting" was partly due to the legacy of distinctive Aboriginal pop singers who emerged in the mid of 1990s, such as the Paiwan duo Power Station (動力火車).

A number of Paiwan members point out that elders normally use "*sulapelj*" or "*nasulapelj*"—words that refer to a sense of refined softness and gracefulness—to depict the quality of Paiwan singing.[151] Zhou recalls that the elderly singers (female singers in particular) he encountered feature a stylized yodeling in which they beautifully switch between true voice and falsetto (Zhou, 2007; 2012a:142). He spoke about the importance of treating this vocal production and the nature of softness and gracefulness as the aesthetic of Paiwan singing that is distinct from pop singing. Resonating with Zhou, Lavuras, another lecturer at the songwriting camp, notes that Paiwan folk singers typically do not "open their mouths wide" as those pop singers do. By the same token, Paiwan pop singer A-Bao, in an interview, reminisces that her mother taught her to sing in a relaxed manner (*sacealjan*) in order to make her voice soft and graceful.[152]

[151] In the songwriting camp, both Zhou Ming-Jie and Lavuras pointed out *sulapelj* as a distinctive Paiwan vocal feature.
[152] https://www.matataiwan.com/2014/07/28/aljenljeng-tjatjaljuvy/, accessed 10 February 2019.

Gilagilau Paqalius notes that Paiwan singing is not as rhythmic as other Aboriginal groups like the Amis, and its singing style also does not sound "loud and brighter." Kedrekedr Paqalius (Gilegilau Paqalius's mother-in-law), a respected folk singer in her village who is known for possessing a distinctively "Paiwan" voice, is featured in the album *Sepiuma Love Songs* produced by Zhou Ming-Jie.[153] As mentioned in Chapter Three, scholars help to amplify such voices that embrace certain musical values. During 2012, ethnomusicologist Wu Rong-Shun held a series of forums featuring "Paiwan musical art"—including the performance of Paiwan flutes, *cemikecikem*, and Paiwan children songs. Collaborating with the Piuma village troupe, Wu particular remarked on the stylized yodeling in Paiwan singing, imbuing the vocality with artistic value. He noted that one of the most noticeable features of Kedrekedr's voice is her singing skill of "sliding around" beautifully like waves (a stylized melisma) instead of going in a straight line. This specific melismatic style therefore reflects the quality of graceful softness (*sulapelj*). They situate this particular voice as the benchmark of the idealized Paiwan voice, encouraging songwriters to invest in the distinctive Paiwan style from older recordings and maintain them in their compositions as conforming to Paiwan ideals. As Weidman suggests, "voices are constructed not only by those who produce them but also by those who interpret, circulate, and reanimate them" (2014:45).

Songwriting involves a creative process of incorporating vocal timbres and techniques, which songwriters use to create the motivating relationship between music and language. Several songwriters have used the documentation work of earlier folk singers or researchers as inspiration for their own works. Zhou Ming-Jie also participated in the songwriting camp as an expert, sharing his knowledge of traditional Paiwan and

[153] Zhou posted his field recordings of Kedrekedr's singing on Facebook, and numerous Paiwan members commented on her voice as distinctly "Paiwan."

Rukai singing and the field recordings of elderly singers, encouraging young songwriters to identify the key features from the recordings and incorporate them in compositions.

However, contemporary songwriting is neither merely adopting older singing style to the song nor simply adapting older singing style to turn them into marketable products. In fact, several students at the camp expressed an interest in listening to and learning from the singing style possessed by elders. Some said, "for our *vuvu* [ancestors] singing is an integral part of daily life. Their voices already have that "flavor."… But we are making new songs that meant to be recorded or performed, not preserving or copying the older style."[154] As music producer Cheng Jie-Ren noted, several young Aboriginal singers with whom he works also feature "some aspects of traditional singing style, but they are not quite the same as their older styles."[155] For those songwriters, mother-tongue songwriting is less about reviving older vocal genres than finding new ways to reimagine the past, and the voice belongs to their generation.

"The Wind from Mountainside is Fragrant"

One of the main themes of the Senasenai Music Festival is a series of music workshops that feature groups of Aboriginal artists who present their new songs, stories, and experiences. The festival considers the songwriting camp an anchor that promotes a new concept of mother-tongue song, providing opportunities for participants to present their work in front of an audience. The camp prepared participants to perform their songs for a final showcase at the end of the camp, a workshop for sharing their ideas, and a performance on the main festival stage at the Pingtung Stadium on the evening of Dec. 4, 2016.

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[154] This statement is my paraphrases of other people's words that are drawn from our informal interaction.
[155] July 21, 2017. Museum of Contemporary Art Taipei.

Like many contemporary indie Aboriginal bands who perform in live music venues or festivals, the singer-songwriters introduce their "mother-tongue songs" in Chinese and give some background on the songs before they perform them. In presenting their work, artists often introduce a few key words in their song lyrics, and then introduce its meaning and their lived experiences in their home villages. They follow up by talking about their original ideas in composing the song or the process of songwriting as a form of storytelling. Sometimes they even invite the audience to sing along with some simple verses or a catchy chorus; audience members who do not speak the language can learn the lyrics quickly and sing the chorus with the performers.

Figure 5.4: Songwriters share and perform their works at the music workshop. Photo by author.

These acts are meant to invite the audience to acquire a better grasp of particular vocabulary or phrases of a heritage language in a certain context, as well as the reasons why the songwriter uses certain instruments or elements. In this regard, the song is not simply a medium for musical performance, but also a medium (in a pseudo-casual way) that educates the audience in certain kinds of cultural knowledge in a more participatory setting. This emerging form of performance also helps to clarify the musical production and its meaning, helping to spread local cultural experiences and expand the contexts of use for Aboriginal languages. One of the participants of the camp, PS, has pointed out to me that performing mother-tongue songs is not "merely playing the music" and the performers have to subtly introduce the story of the song and interact with the audience.

The final showcase, which was titled "The Wind from Mountainside is Fragrant," aimed at featuring the musical diversity of Aborigines in Pingtung County. In the evening, three Paiwan songs selected from the songwriting camp were performed on the main stage. The songs were rearranged in a pop band configuration by a Pingtung-based Aboriginal band Harley and sung by the Paiwan singer Min-Hsiung and the Yami singer Zhou Li-Wen (Figure 5.5). This arrangement brands their creations as a staged version, paying more attention to compositional design, aesthetic contrast, and stage effects than singing as an act of intra-village activity. A more recent addition to the 2018 festival is the Aboriginal bands competition, *xieposhande yuetuan dasai* [Mountainside Band Competition]. Here, pre-selected unsigned Aboriginal bands competed through the performances of their composition that related to "the life on the mountainside" for a prize to be used to further their career. Today, young Aboriginal singer-songwriters formed bands and performed their own mother-tongue songs at various local live music venues or competitions as well as financing their studio recordings to promote their music. Although there is no language restriction on compositions, the competition's

intention to prioritize newly composed mother-tongue songs is apparent, as "mother-tongue songs will get extra points."

Figure 5.5: The final concert of the 2016 Senasenai Music Festival in Pingtung. Photo by author.

In addition to the performance of many newly arranged folk songs and songs in Mandarin, a strong line-up of Paiwan artists and groups performed their own mother-tongue songs in the final concert of the festival, including nose flute artist Sauniaw Tjuveljevelj, the hip-hop group Boxing, and the new generation singer-songwriter Tai Siao-Chun, demonstrating a wider range of styles that fit with Paiwan-language songs. The performances highlighting the aesthetic possibility by those Aboriginal pop singers and their success in mother-tongue songs were intended to encourage young songwriters to compose in their heritage language. The emergence of competitions and festivals also led to the recent proliferation of mother-tongue song production by many Aboriginal

indie bands. This transformation, in my opinion, reflects the intention to harness music and heritage languages to community empowerment, encouraging the act of songwriting and the creation of mother-tongue songs to transcend the former ways of representing Paiwan language and music.

MOTHER-TONGUE SONGS AS COMMODITIES

The growth of mother-tongue songs has created a brand new economy of Aboriginal music that is distinct from the earlier one. As professional artists, most Aboriginal songwriters would not have "devoted" themselves to a single language or musical style. Nevertheless, more and more artists and bands finance their own budgets and put effort into releasing their mother-tongue albums. Amis singers Suming Rupi and Ado Kaliting Pacidal, who produced and released their own mother-tongue albums in 2010, are illustrative of this trend (Hatfield, 2011). If Aboriginal languages have long been marginalized in the mainstream pop music market, what are their strategies for situating their heritage language in the marketplace? Unlike those Aboriginal pop singers who sing mostly in Mandarin, these artists who choose to release a mother-tongue album commit themselves to take control of the ways they represent their pop culture to the audience.

Unlike the music industry, languages do not depend on global commerce *per se* for their vitality or viability, and the dispersal of the speaker population does not rely on a language "industry" (Grant, 2014:65). Through contemporary songwriting and its performance, numerous artists have paid attention to Aboriginal languages in ways that former projects of language revitalization had not been able to achieve. Pop music elements and other contemporary phenomenon like festivals provide the potential to

disrupt the "traditional/modern" dichotomy—associating Aboriginal languages with racialized discourses linked to "tradition," while associating majority languages with modernity (Przybylski, 2018).

The commodification of songs in Aboriginal languages is by no means a contemporary phenomenon. The small-scale cassette music industry disseminated among Aborigines during the 1970s produced a corpus of composed or rearranged songs in Aboriginal languages. In the Senasenai Music Festival, one of the concerts thematized the "classic Aboriginal cassette music singers," inviting a number of Paiwan singers from the earlier cassette media industry to re-present their songs for a nostalgic audience. What distinguishes the contemporary "mother-tongue songs" from earlier commercialized Aboriginal songs is that the former was produced for a largely non-Aboriginal market. Many Aboriginal singer-songwriters produce their mother-tongue albums that provide song texts in their mother-tongue languages and Mandarin translation in liner notes. Some artists even provide translations of lyrics in more than three different majority languages (Chinese, English, Japanese), showing the intention to promote their mother-tongue songs toward a national or global circuit.[156]

In many settings, contemporary Aboriginal songwriting has intertwined with the new idea of language in relation to the national imagination and globally circulating genres and media. Various forms and genres combined offer different ways to shape language ideologies. As Samuels argues, singing in unison and harmony was not just seen as aesthetically pleasing in comparison to Native ways of vocalizing together but was further associated with the inculcation of democracy, modernity, and Christianity in Native communities (Samuels, 2009:150).

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[156] For example, Suming's album *Amis* (2012) includes translations in Chinese, English, Japanese, and French. Balai's album *The Mordern Ancient* (2015) includes translations in Chinese, English, and Japanese.

In this decade, Paiwan pop stars such as Matzka and A-Bao have emerged as singer-songwriters who brand their work as a form of language popularization. They incorporated elements of rock, soul, reggae, and R&B into their mother-tongue songs, marking the popular conceptions of "Paiwan music" beyond the narrowly defined "world music" trope (Hatfield, 2011:11). Both artists adopted a new way to shape Paiwan music to be more appealing to a global audience. This new trend of challenging the older stereotype reflects the concern faced by many Aboriginal songwriters, as Biung Wang states in a forum on Aboriginal pop music:

> Our stereotype about Aboriginal pop music is that we sing and are accompanied by an acoustic guitar. If we go to international indigenous music festivals, we see a lot of indigenous peoples from different countries wearing their traditional costumes, singing, and playing guitars. This scene is very prevalent. I start thinking about other possibilities to continue the development of Aboriginal pop music. Do you all have any ideas? (21 July 2017, Taipei)

A-Bao's album *Vavayan* has been widely recognized as a progressive and pioneering work that inspired both Paiwan and non-Paiwan popular musicians. Among the 11 tunes in Paiwan language, ten were A-Bao's new compositions and one was the new arrangement of a Paiwan tune ("Djekuac"). Despite the versatile pop musical styles she employed, the lyrics of her new compositions, including "Vavayan" (Paiwan Girls), "Izuwa" (Possess), and "Kanu" (Where are you), contain vivid descriptions of Paiwan women's lives in her home village that resonate with everyday experiences and interactions in Paiwan communities.

A key problem in minority language learning is creating contexts in which learners can use the language outside of the classroom. Aside from the fact that music stimulates the motivation to learn by making the process pleasurable, the process of songwriting drives the songwriters to combine language use in other areas of life. A-Bao's music situate the Paiwan as a living language to be interpreted and understood, as

evident in a rap section in her song "*Izuwa*," which employs humor and some foreign words to describe the differences for women raising a family in "traditional" and "modern" Paiwan ways:

Vadequ nu tjayaing izuwa shiyiji (washing machine)

Kikasiw nu tjayaing izuwa wasilu (gas stove)

Kesamu nu tjayaing izuwa McDonald's

Kelja nu tja tjayaing ita FB (Facebook)

Ask her to do laundry, she says there is a washing machine

Ask her to light up the log, she says there is a gas stove

Ask her to prepare the meal, she says there is a McDonald's

Tell her to come over, she is busy checking FB

Prominent singer-songwriters consider the machinery of popular culture to gain wider dissemination and are prepared to negotiate the commercial recording industry's expectations with creative endeavors and ideals. Meanwhile, they pervasively invoke songs to make strong connections with their home villages and their mother tongue. Despite the fact that many songwriters are not fluent speakers in their heritage languages, they still express their desire of singing their own mother-tongue songs that could be accepted by elders of Paiwan language in their home villages, rather than simply "singing whatever they want." Mother-tongue songwriting, therefore, is not simply a marketable product that aims for popularity, but also the site in which songwriters harness projects of Aboriginal cultural revitalization and community empowerment.

SONGWRITING AS A MEANS OF CHALLENGING HEGEMONIC TOKENISM

This chapter considers mother-tongue songs as a site in which notions of music and language intersect with indigeneity, the changing economy of Aboriginal music performance, and socio-political meaning. Scholars of music and indigenous language revitalization have pointed out the role of music in perpetuating or challenging the dominant discourse in many ways. Przybylski suggests that indigenous bilingual hip-hop enables the revernacularization of indigenous language, which can be a decolonizing act. Barrett demonstrates how Maya hip-hop artists have evolved a unique indigenous style that challenges the ideologies that view indigenous languages as incompatible with contemporary global culture (2016). Likewise, I consider the recent proliferation of songwriting in Paiwan language a potential act of decolonization; the artists promote the use of their mother tongue through their own terms, musical creation, and their performances to challenge the tropes and ideologies regarding their heritage languages and music.

Despite the fact that the Senasenai Music Festival is a government-sponsored event, local Aboriginal advocates, officials, and musicians do the planning and organizing. The songwriters with whom I worked create and perform music that fits with their own imagination of the past and their heritage language rather than adhering to a circumscribed definition of Paiwan identity according to the government's multicultural paradigm. One of the students at the songwriting camp, LH, recalled her experience of facing the ongoing legacy of colonialism:

> When I was in high school, the teacher for my composition class asked everyone to write his or her own song. My teacher told me that I had to write a song in Paiwan language because I am a Paiwanese. I was really freaking out because I was not familiar with my mother-tongue language [Paiwan language]… My family do not speak Paiwan language very often at home. I did not know how to write the song well, so I just made it up. My teacher then blamed me for my work

> and said, "What are you writing!?"… Actually, I have already written something myself, and I decided to come to this camp to find some inspiration.

While it is clear that the trope of "Paiwanese are supposed to write songs in Paiwan language" becomes a burden for many young people, the student's choice to come to the songwriting camp was not necessarily perpetuating the imposed stereotype. Rather, all the participants came to the camp voluntarily to learn and work on their songs, and there were many more who wanted to come but could not make it.

The trope of "Aboriginal languages survival" in Taiwan intensifies the ways Aboriginal songs are being constrained. As Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues, "At the heart of such a view of authenticity is a belief that indigenous cultures cannot change, cannot recreate themselves and still claim to be indigenous. Nor can they be complicated, internally diverse or contradictory" (Smith, 1999:74). However, by composing and expressing "in their own terms," I argue that the songwriters' music is not necessarily confined to perpetuating stereotypes that limit Aboriginal languages to the "traditional." The heterogeneous musical genres invite living culture in the language. The songwriters challenge the dominant discourses of musical production in Aboriginal languages, creating instead new conceptions of Aboriginal mother-tongue songs that can both fit with global pop genres and evoke the feel of the continuity with their ancestral heritage.

My own experience of participating in the songwriting camp and the festival induces me to think of mother-tongue songwriting as a potential way for language and cultural learning; it enables the retention of words and phrases, inferences of meaning based on context, development of linguistic flow, and metaphorical expression in Paiwan singing, and creation of self-motivated interest in learning. Many of the songwriters with whom I worked actually do their "fieldwork": they inquire of elders about the traditional use of language and older singing style, collect recordings and documents, and reflect on

their own work and performance. In this sense, they actively retrace their origin and embrace their cultures and languages through contemporary channels.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have focused on the dynamics and implications of Taiwan's Aboriginal revival in the late 20th and 21st centuries. In this concluding chapter, I discuss the significance and contributions of my research findings along two dimensions. First, following the agenda of ethnomusicological studies on revivalism, I hope to reevaluate the concept of revival as an analytical framework that has been presented from disciplines including (ethno)musicology, folklore studies, anthropology, and indigenous studies. I examine various approaches, methods, infrastructures, ideologies, and mediums within the scene of Taiwan's Aboriginal music revival. The concept is especially important in examining the specific context of Taiwan's Aborigines, as many indigenous communities around the world today reconstruct their heritage from diverse, often fragmentary sources (Clifford, 2012:279). Further, I strive to broaden existing approaches in music revival and its implications to revivalist practitioners by reflecting on what is revived in my case analysis of Aboriginal music.

My second goal is to reflect on the potential ethical issues and consequences of revival, reconsidering the efficacy of revival projects and the relationship between Aborigines, scholars, and government agencies. In the Introduction I mentioned some ethical issues regarding my status as a non-Aboriginal researcher. Here I push the question further: What kinds of ethical issues crop up after the revival? What consequences might revival projects lead to, and what impacts might they have on the practitioners?

The goal of this dissertation is not a complete survey of Aboriginal music revival in Taiwan, but an evocation of several different practices and processes within this revival movement. My research suggests that Aborigines may face a similar situation in

mediating scholarly investigation, the state's intervention of heritage projects, language revitalization, international indigenism, and the growing commitment to community-based revival that was asserted against experiences of loss. While I have focused on the case of the Paiwan, I acknowledge that beyond the scope of this dissertation there are many other small-scale Aboriginal revival projects at the grassroots level in which music plays a significant role, and these projects continue to have a substantial impact on local music.

I chose to focus on Taiwan's Aborigines, the Paiwan in particular, for several reasons. First, although the revival projects among Aborigines may not necessarily be the most active or prevalent among indigenous peoples in the world, this phenomenon is significant because of its recent emergence. This aspect provides a suitable case to observe ongoing tensions and dynamics from both outside and within through different processes. Second, the Paiwan music forms stand out as one of the best-supported of Aboriginal arts by the Taiwanese government. This provides proof of the proposition that governmental interaction with the cultural forms and practitioners imposes and co-opts certain values. These two aspects enable me to study the three major characteristics of Aboriginal music revival: contestations over authenticity, institutionalization and transmission, and new infrastructures that reshape the ways the music is promoted and disseminated.

REVIVAL AS AN ANALYTICAL LENS: CRITIQUES AND SIGNIFICANCE

On July 21, 2017, I went to the Museum of Contemporary Art Taipei to attend a forum on the development of Aboriginal pop music. Dakanow Luluan, a Paiwan singer-songwriter, used the words "Aboriginal wave" (*yuanzhumin langchao*) to refer to a phase

when there are proliferating Aboriginal music productions and public discussions surrounding them:

> In the so-called "Folksong Period" [Modern Folksong Movement] (around the 1970s and 1980s in Taiwan), the most important thing was that you decided what you wanted to do, play your guitar, and write and sing your songs. You didn't have to be controlled by any forces… This [period] provided a very important basis for the rise of the so-called "Aboriginal wave" (*yuanzhumin langchao*). If there had been no such period, perhaps the "Aboriginal wave" would not have arisen that soon (21 July 2017, Taipei).[157]

Although Dakanow did not particularly specify when exactly this Aboriginal wave started, this excerpt indicates that Aboriginal music workers and advocates are consciously aware of the wave or impulse in which Aboriginal musical-cultural workers have increasingly ascribed their music as "Aboriginal," or have engaged with their ancestral past. This inspired me to adopt revival as an analytical lens for my project to examine why and how an increasing number of people label such a quickly increasing number of sounds to be "Aboriginal." Under this broad label of "Aboriginal wave," what are some large-scale and small-scale revival projects? If we view music revival as a series of cultural productions or a particular process of cultural change based on certain ideological initiatives, how are these projects in dialogue with one another?

Critiques

Scholars have argued that the different cases of music revival underline the difficulty of constructing a general theory of revivals that embrace complex and diverse dynamics in musical worlds. Revival movement is never a unidirectional process or a prescriptive project, as described in Feintuch's words, "musical revivals are not one

[157] Here the "folk song" is different from the Folksong Collection Movement launched by Han scholars during the 1960s. Here Dakanow refers to the Modern Folksong Movement that was inspired the Folksong Revival in the United States, during which most Taiwanese singer-songwriters in the 1970s modeled themselves on American stars of the revival, such as Joan Baez and Bob Dylan (Chen, 2007:227).

thing" (2006:1; Grant, 2014:23). A number of researchers noted that some of these revivals stress the difficulty of making judgments about the likely trajectory of a specific music genre, while others foreground the influence of outsiders on the revival process (Hill and Bithell, 2014).

Also, some point out that revivalists themselves may express reservations about using the term for their activities (Keeton-Phipps, 2015; Livingston, 2014:63). Some even suggest that the term has outlived its usefulness and should be abandoned (Slobin, 2014). During my fieldwork, I encountered a similar concern: some of my interlocutors do not consider themselves revivalists. For instance, the mother-tongue songwriters with whom I work have presented heterogeneous and diverse musical and artistic forms, ranging from those who adopted a traditionalist view and those who used global pop elements. Instead of "returning" to a particular musical genre from the past, homogeneity is actively avoided. Also, much of the proliferating mother-tongue songs revolve around an approach that orients traditional elements in parallel and close proximity to popular culture. Despite the core ideology that these songwriters are aware of, many of them react or adapt to it in various ways to suit their own needs and cultural goals (to promote the culture, to use music as a tool for community-building, to revitalize the language). This highlights the need to consider this case as very different from the revival as it has been previously conceived by other scholars (Livingston, 1999; Hill and Bithell, 2014).

Significance

Despite all these critiques of the term, I argue that the concept of revival can still be a useful framework to analyze various ways and processes that draw on the musical past, as well as interpreting the dynamics between local communities and the state and international agencies. The concept of revival is also important for illuminating the

patterns of transformation and controversies behind these changes in the sense that it places "an important emphasis on revivalists' perceptions and their desire to engage with the past" (Hill and Bithell, 2014:4).

The examination of these perceptions and engagement with the past allows me to unpack revivalists' ideological imaginations and (re)interpretations of Aboriginal musical practices as they existed before the impact of colonization and popular cultural circulation, and which facet should continue to be so going forward. I argue that this concept provides a useful lens through which to see multiple processes of revivalist production and approaches, such as classification, institutionalization, purification, and hybridization.

Characteristics of Music Revival

Authenticity

In Chapter Two I discussed how non-Aboriginal scholars classified Aboriginal music based on a racialized ideology of "museum-in-a-book/recording" (Aborigines become a museumized object in which each "tribe" has its own distinctive cultural essence with clear-cut boundaries), while Paiwan revivalists advocated a different set of beliefs that distinguish their musical practices from others. While the revival of Aboriginal music has been tied to a new cultural production of musical practices and texts that promotes ethnic solidarity, the revivalists' classification and periodization of songs, therefore, have become a contested sphere that is tied to the idea of new musical "tradition" and historical continuity in relation to the national imagination. In other words, these classification systems are crucial to the construction of Aboriginal music and the "authentic" Paiwan-ness that requires acknowledgement to validate. As Livingston argues, it is the central idea of authenticity that "distinguishes revivals from

other musical movements or trends" (1999:74). Ethnic purity and cultural uniqueness are often emphasized in revivals (Hill and Bithell, 2014:11), and this is sometimes valorized as a moral obligation for Aborigines to preserve their "pure" and "authentic" music.

A more productive approach to analyze Aboriginal revivals thus needs to go beyond the dichotomies of indigenous and the government, of colonized and colonizing, and that of counter-hegemonic and hegemonic. As scholars have argued, these dichotomies left no space for Aboriginal practitioners to act as active agents, as "people who create social realities rather than merely react to those put in place by others" (Faudree, 2013: 237). Along the same lines, my research demonstrated that revival is a combination of competing ideologies that are locally constructed and constantly subject to change. Instead of passively absorbing all policy aims that the state imposes on them, Aboriginal practitioners develop various strategies to reconcile the ideological constraints imposed on them. As discussed in Chapters Three and Four, the Paiwan flute players I have introduced are participating in community-based cultural revitalization, national Transmission Plans, and local Christian churches. Within the Transmission Plans, practitioners sometimes accepted, incorporated, or rejected comments from scholars and the government officials. Instead of describing Aboriginal revival projects as completely submissive or counteractive to imposed forces, my research suggests that Aboriginal practitioners are grappling with divergent dynamics from both outside and within through different processes—processes of consensus, alliance, exclusion, and antagonism.

Institutionalization and Transmission

My dissertation has identified two primary forces that structure the revival of Aboriginal music in Taiwan: institutionalization and transmission. The institutionalization of Paiwan flutes that resulted from a series of academic investigations,

publications, media, government's Transmission Plans, and local practitioners' performances and adaptations, has created a set of new values, expectations, rules, and productions. This process also formulated "the revival tradition's repertoire, stylistic features, and history" (Livingston, 1999:71). In this dissertation I have constantly pointed to scholars' and institutions' roles in shaping the revived musical forms: scholars' classification of music, scholarly investigation and publications, the jury committee of Transmission Plans that consisted of a group of scholars, and Aboriginal scholars' narratives.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the canon of Paiwan flute was partly formulated by scholarly works that reweave the elements of instruments, Paiwan mythologies, craft arts, and aesthetic conceptualizations of sounds forcefully together: these include Hsu Tsang-Houei's cohort survey and research on Aboriginal music that stressed the ethnic-cultural essence of each Aboriginal group: and Hu Tai-Li's publications that systematized various Paiwan nose and mouth flutes and placed *talimuza*/*mapaura* (thoughtful sorrow) as their central aesthetic component. As evident in the commercial recordings of Paiwan flutes after 2000, these initiatives and publications have reshaped contemporary practitioners' musical activities. For instance, it is common to see the song titles of Paiwan flutes index a sense of love, loss, and sorrow as representative of Paiwan affective expression. It demonstrated how the aestheticization from the earlier period continues to shape images and practices of Paiwan flutes. Scholarly publications, media, and the government's cultural policies that stressed the instruments as representative of the Paiwan are frequently re-appropriated in Aboriginal discussions and discourses.

The ongoing tension between fidelity to authoritative sources and musical innovation has been a concern among the practitioners of Transmission Plans and contemporary singer-songwriters. While the dominant Taiwanese cultural discourses and

current mechanism of Cultural Heritage Protection Act emphasize the mastery and artistic excellence of master artists and particular groups (Paiwan flutes have been registered by the Ministry of Culture in its catalog of National Important Traditional Arts), Aboriginal practitioners have employed various ways to enact the musical practice of Paiwan flutes in ways that differ from those in the past.

Scholars' and the government's interpretations of "authenticity" and "tradition" may conflict with the norms of community members and local practitioners (for example, CHPA officially labeled Paiwan flutes as a "performing art"). However, this does not necessarily mean that national intervention always violates (i.e., "contaminates") the music-cultural activities, especially when it involves government funding. The Transmission Plans of Paiwan flutes demonstrates the diverse ways practitioners negotiate institutional goals (e.g., create a new image of the Paiwan people and culture) and rules (e.g., the regulations of examination) by employing old and new resources (e.g., the combinations of Paiwan flute playing and *cemikecikem*, performing Paiwan flutes in intra-village events) as they participate in the revival industry of Aboriginal music. Instead of simply depicting the national heritage projects as a straightforward top-down system that shows the government's manipulation in safeguarding the "traditions" of Aborigines, my research points to the importance of practitioners' contemporary realities, indicating their intentions, interpretations, practical considerations, and conscious aesthetic choices.

New Infrastructures

In addition to examining the important role that states, institutions, and various governmental policies wield in revival processes, this dissertation also draws attention to how practitioners adapt older expressive forms to new genres, and how music revival is

marked by a rich diversity of approaches and infrastructures - newly composed mother-tongue songwriting, combining participatory musical activities, new methods of transmission, new forms of dissemination through new media and publication, and musical-cultural festivals.

In Chapter Five I focused on Aboriginal mother-tongue songwriting at a more grassroots and individual level, highlighting the interaction between mother-tongue songwriting and language revitalization in which selected musical, cultural, and linguistic forms are re-articulated in relation to the changing economy of performances. Due to the emerging public interest in Aboriginal festivals and the proliferating number of Aboriginal musicians and bands involved in this enterprise, the contemporary revival scene has been largely populated by the younger generation of singer-songwriters and advocates, whose vocational visions are somewhat different from those of their elders. Whether progressively or conservatively inclined, the new generation of Aboriginal artists and practitioners shares a response to the emergence of a new globalized indigenous community; many of them tend to deliberately stress their unique Aboriginal identity, embrace the lived experience and ancestral past on their own terms, express the need to feel historically connected, and adapt older expressive forms to new genres and media. One of the examples of this recent trend is evident in recent Aboriginal choirs' music productions. In fact, many local Aboriginal troupes and choirs continue to feel a strong attachment to their folk songs and have attempted to revive them. They do so by producing two versions of these songs: the "original" version (*gudiao chinchang* 古調清唱) that demonstrates the "pure" and "traditional" expression, and the "fusion" version

(*kuajie ronghe* 跨界融合) that aims to make the folk tunes more accessible to general audiences.[158]

New infrastructures such as media productions and festivals not only show the ways in which revived music genre or style are performed and presented but also reveal how the practitioners promote, disseminate, and brand their music. As I demonstrated, the Paiwan practitioners act as cultural agents promoting Paiwan music through publications, music workshops, cultural performances, festivals, and community-based events (see Chapter Four). Singer-songwriters, likewise, present their musical ideas not only through performing but also through workshops, songwriting camp, CD liner notes, and social-media promotion (see Chapter Five). The case of mother-tongue songwriting emphasized the newly composed songs using heritage language and older musical style. This stance was challenged by those singer-songwriters who felt that keeping globally circulated pop music and the new use of language out of mother-tongue songs would stigmatize it as "music/language of the past" and prevent the songs in heritage language from becoming a cosmopolitan art creation.

The Thing We Imagine We Are Reviving: What Is Revived?

What can we learn from this research to reach a more comprehensive view on music revival? This arises from the question about what is the thing we imagine we are reviving. Is it music? Whose music? What time period was the music found? What is revived other than the music itself and how music is embedded in revivalists' initiatives? One of the critiques of early scholarship on Aboriginal music by non-Aboriginal scholars is that they mostly provide information about "music in general." As Hill and Bithell state, revivalists are concerned not simply with "the music itself " but also—or even

[158] For example, Taiwu Ancient Ballads Troupe and VASA Paiwan Traditional Dance and Music Troupe both have released albums featuring Paiwan folksongs in different versions.

more—with the projected values and partly imagined lifestyles they associate with it (2014:14). Likewise, Bohlman proposes the notion of "embeddedness" to describe how music is connected to and inseparable from other activities in regard to the ontologies of music (1999:19). In this view, revival as an analytical lens can provide valuable insight into processes of music revival not only with regard to its concepts in the specific context of indigenous communities, but also pointing to the specific aspects of revived music in relation to practitioners' interpretation, conscious aesthetic choices, and practical consideration.

Along the same lines, my research suggests that affective, material, and vocal dimensions are important to take into account when considering Aboriginal music revival, because these aspects have all affected contemporary performances and learning sources. In Chapter Four I focused on Paiwan craftsmanship, examining the ontological process of how the Paiwan transform natural resources into meaningful musical instruments (where and how they were made, who made them, what held them together), and how they later became institutionally transmitted. The particular craftsmanship of flute-making and playing, as I argued, is integral to the formation of Paiwan-ness and has been considered an essential part of their revival projects. In Chapter Five I demonstrate how a group of Paiwan singer-songwriters foregrounded a distinctive Paiwan musical ontology and metaphorical expression within the Paiwan singing style, one that can only be instantiated through Paiwan folk singing, and has been re-routed through the emerging mother-tongue songwriting. Reflecting on what is revived helps us to identify the important complexities of why the practitioners pursue revival projects to achieve their goals, how the music is taught and transmitted, and what aspects they emphasize, beyond those observed in this research.

ONGOING IMPACT OF REVIVAL

The concept of post-revival is especially useful for the way in which it causes us to consider more productively the original revival impulses and to identify a new musical or social culture as part of its legacy (Hill and Bithell, 2014:29). In this post-revival stage, numerous concerns and contestations have emerged among practitioners, activists, researchers, and national and international agencies. What comes after revival? How does music revival evolve in different directions, either supporting or merging with the original revivalist impulse, or breaking free from restrictions to suit its own contemporary realities? These questions provide potential directions for reconsidering the consequence of specific approaches to revival on cultural forms.

Cultural Rights and Ownership

One of the issues that emerged over the course of research that merits further exploration is the ways in which revival processes reshape what is considered "traditions" and legitimize a specific group of practitioners. As Seeger suggests, "ideas about rights over music are often closely intertwined with important concepts of person, ideas about the origin and significance of sound, and also about relations of power" (Seeger, 2012: 32). Within the revival projects and heritage-making process, the politics of authenticity raises several concerns about cultural rights and ownership. This is especially the case for Aborigines, given that the government's policies addressing issues of minority rights often perpetuate a homogenized cultural image of certain groups and thus overlooks powers of representation within a community.

In a post-revival phase in which new innovative styles were stimulated, there has been an issue of cultural rights: who has the right to learn, practice, and transmit the knowledge of Paiwan flutes within the contemporary politics of cultural heritage-making. As discussed earlier, the heritage-making process of Paiwan flutes has publicized the

instruments as a cultural heritage for the Paiwan to learn and a Taiwanese heritage for a general audience to appreciate. However, this process may conflict with the local musical environment and create a certain extent of exclusion and inclusion, given that there are only a handful of hereditary master musicians and craftsmen who are familiar with the musical practices and related craftsmanship. Within certain Aboriginal cultures, internal norms regulating cultural ownership enforce that only those who "own" song corpuses or instrumental repertoires have the right to sing or play them; when those people are few, possibilities for transmission may be limited.

The problem of the limitation on transmission is amplified in the case of national cultural heritage projects: cultural bearers may hold different attitudes toward the transmission of their knowledge and skills, in terms of the methods and potential apprentices. While some Paiwan flute maker-players are reluctant to accept non-relatives to be their apprentices, selecting potential apprentices for intergenerational transmission and the promotion of the heritage requires acute awareness and careful work of defining cultural rights.

In many cases, whether an individual is entitled to practice a protected genre of artisanal work may be determined by his/her presence in an ethnic group registry, thus entailing the exclusion of persons of mixed ancestry or external ethnic origin, regardless of their mastery or acceptance by other practitioners of the genre. When genetic ancestry is a seemingly objective determinant of group membership, it is likely to be favored, and racialist conceptions of culture are bound to be reinforced (Noyes, 2016: 346). In the case of the Transmission Plans of Paiwan flutes, the personnel of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage have tried to negotiate with Pairang Pavavalung to transmit related knowledge and crafts to people outside his family. On the other hand, Gilegilau Paqalius has been

more open to sharing information with people from different Paiwan families, villages, or even ethnic groups.

The control over the ownership of artisanal practices and knowledge directly links to this concern about cultural rights. The prominent cultural discourses have emphatically encouraged a more collective and homogenized representation of Paiwan music. As mentioned in Chapter Four, some intricate carved patterns on Paiwan flutes and associated craftsmanship may rely on the Pavavalung family's lineage of cultivating *pulima*, while the combinations of flute playing and Paiwan polyphonic singing (*kininemeneman*) appears to be the artistic creation of the Paqalius family, as they have performed in this form for years. Should the knowledge be exclusively transmitted along the artists' bloodlines, or should it be open to the Paiwan people—or even non-Paiwan people—once publicized as a cultural heritage? Are the ways in which practitioners emphasize the differences among regions or artisanal families the strategies to claim ownership and superior knowledge, or perhaps rationalization? A further concern with the limitation on transmission is that musical repertoires and associated knowledge have sometimes come to be "regarded by communities as definitive representations of a genre, precluding scope for creativity and reinterpretation" (Livingston, 1999: 75).

That the collective representation of Paiwan flute music appeared in prominent cultural discourses also reveals problems with the potential consequences of revival; it may reshape the understanding of what the music represents. The question that arises here is about the value of the attention created by the promotion if it comes rife with misunderstandings. As discussed in Chapter Four, several apprentices are actually from different regions/villages. For Paiwan people, the nuanced regional differences are regarded as essential signals of cultural identity, as each of them has their own "village style" and repertoires. During my fieldwork, I found that both master artists and

apprentices strategically develop some performing aspects/repertoires outside the purview of the national project. In some occasions outside of the government-funded project, such as local harvest festivals (*masalut*) and Presbyterian churches, practitioners are often more flexible about performing repertoires related to their own home villages, families, or individual experiences. Rumetj Tjakulavu points out that his initial goal to participate in the Transmission Plans is to learn Gilegilau Paqalius' knowledge and skills, but he also has performed the repertoires from his home village on various occasions. Given that the national Transmission Plans emphasize parroting master artists' practices and skills, it is worth discussing how individuals exercise their personal choices of artistic expression, especially apprentices from different villages.

Efficacy

Reviving certain musical practices also raises the questions of who has the authority to define "authenticity" and attribute value to certain practices, and who has the control of representation. The intervention of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage in supervising the Transmission Plans led Paiwan music toward certain "authentic" and homogenized cultural performances. The interpretation of Paiwan flutes as solely a "performing art" under the banner of National Important Traditional Art reinforces the fact that nation-states are integral to defining and manipulating cultural rights discourse.

On the other hand, the community-based performances are primarily created within the community sphere and intended mostly for local Paiwan audiences rather than the majority Han Chinese in Taiwan. Paiwan flutes have been merged into the performances in these community-based activities, such as harvest festivals and Christian worship, in some local villages, which enabled me to analyze how participants make decisions for song-and-dance within different contexts that differ or overlap with

government-sponsored events. The local communities may have different understandings of their own heritage and what constitutes "authenticity" in order to strengthen their local base and maintain regional identity. Some voiced the concern about the reliance on the state's support and the loss of control over Paiwan flutes if the government's primary motivation is to promote staged performances and multiculturalism. This was the case with the Amis Music Festival, which chose to vitalize their traditional age-set system (*kaput*) and feature multiple aspects of music and arts within the Amis Atolan village. The organizers declined any funding sources from the government and took charge of their own preparatory work.[159]

The topic of revival is certainly a concern outside the academic world. This question arose from the practice in applied ethnomusicology of examining a problem related to a concrete community concern; how can researchers develop and align their goals to help their subjects maintain their music? The recent trend for ethnomusicologists to participate in applied work with organizations or institutions has led to renewed critical engagement with cultural policies and the implementation of the presuppositions inherent in the concept of intangible cultural heritage (Weintraub and Yung, 2009). As ethnomusicologists we may be involved in various roles in revival projects—not only as collectors, writers, and archivists, but also as promoters or advocates for cultural revitalization and community empowerment.

By examining the scenario of Taiwan's Aboriginal music revival, this dissertation has shed new light on how revival as an analytical lens can lead us to a better understanding of revivalists' intentions and original impulses, practical considerations, aesthetic choices, and contextual limitations. Furthermore, my case studies demonstrate

[159] According to my conversation with Suming Rupi, the director of Amis Music Festival, 14 Nov 2018.

some of the potential consequences that music revival may bring about, as well as fostering the awareness of the researcher's role in cultural preservation and promotion.

Appendix A: Transcriptions

1. “Ayiljanaluwan”

Transcribed from field recording by Zhou Ming-Jie

Sung by Kapiyangan village choir

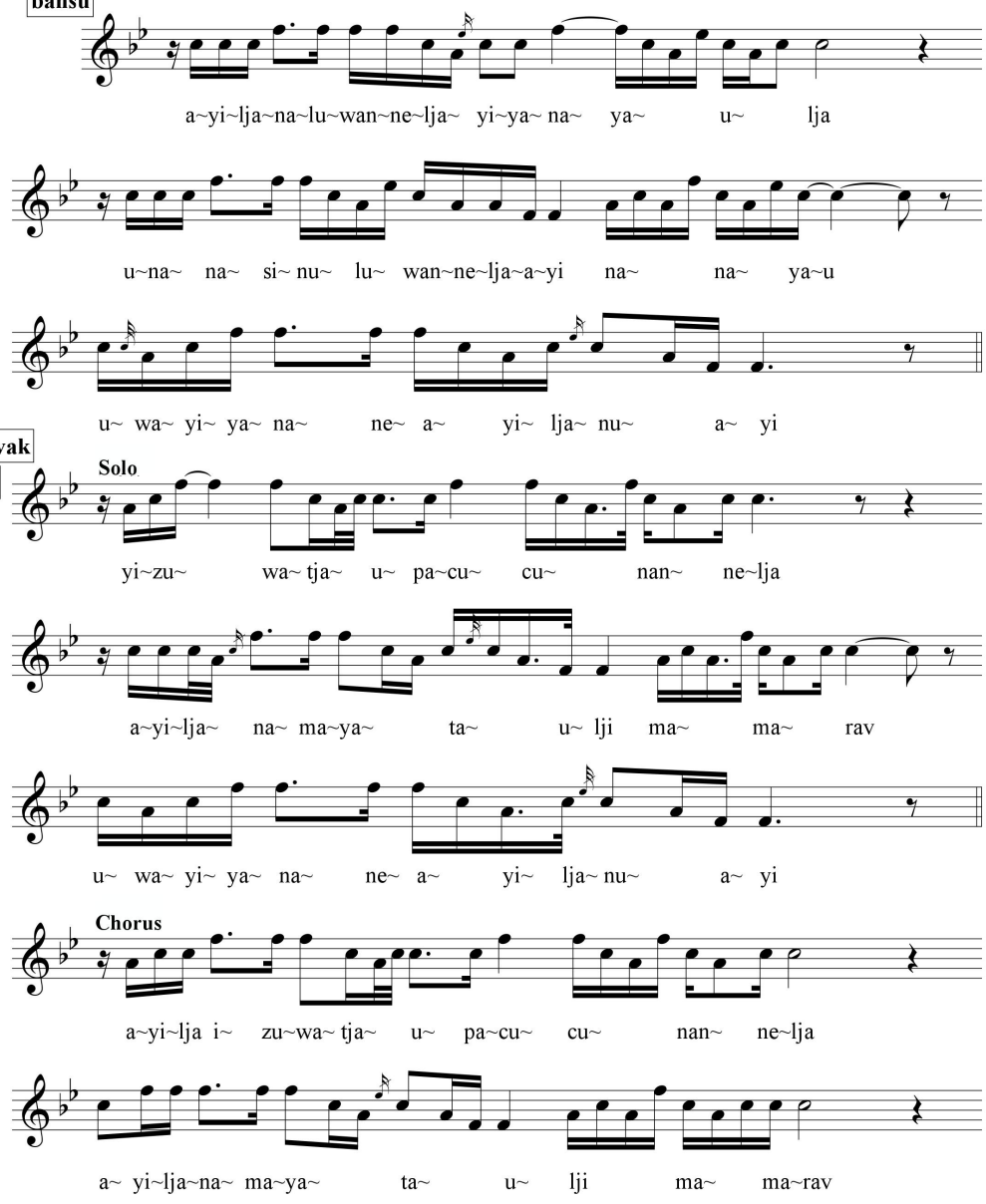
Lyrics transcribed by Gao Chih-Shen

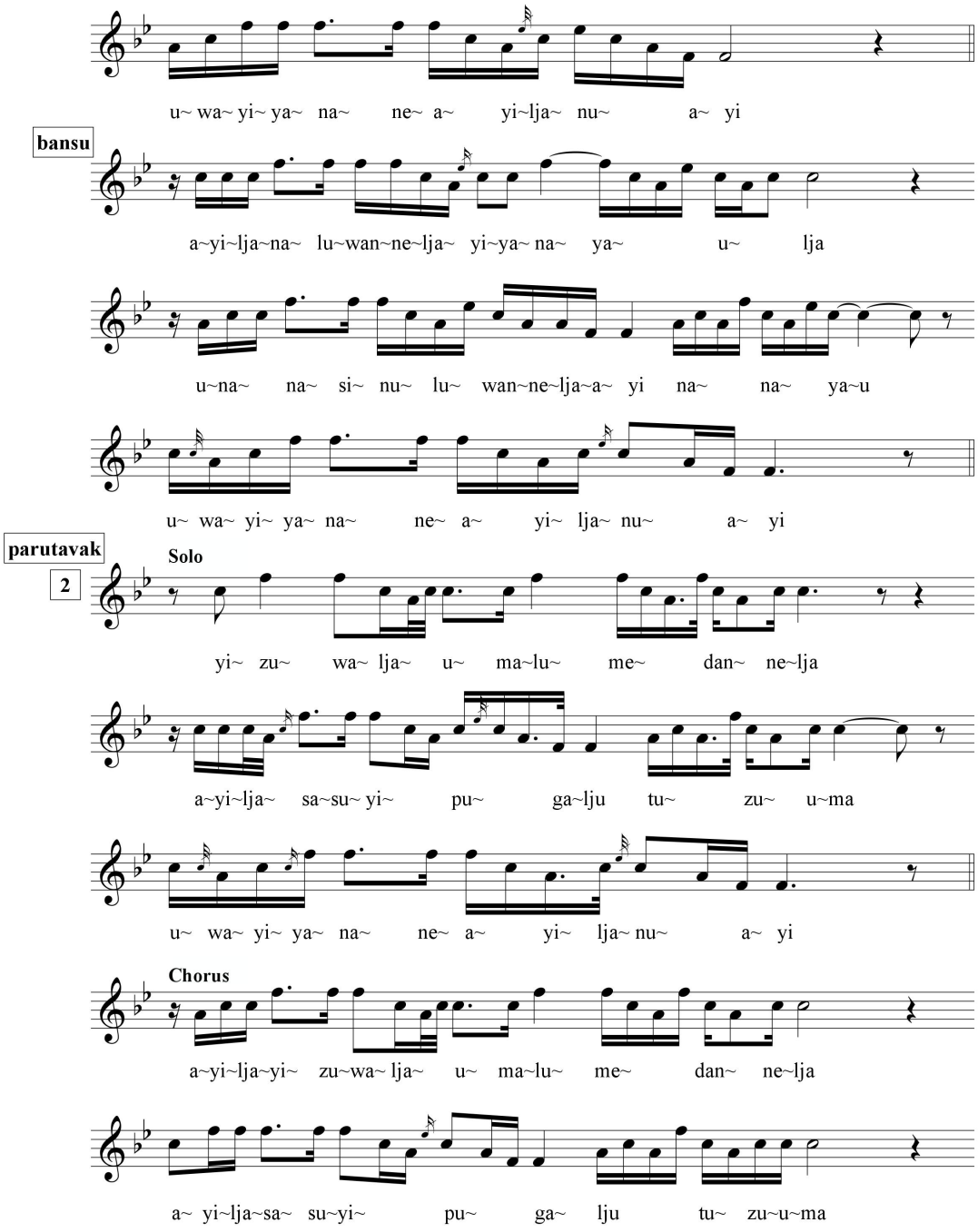
total time: 5:49

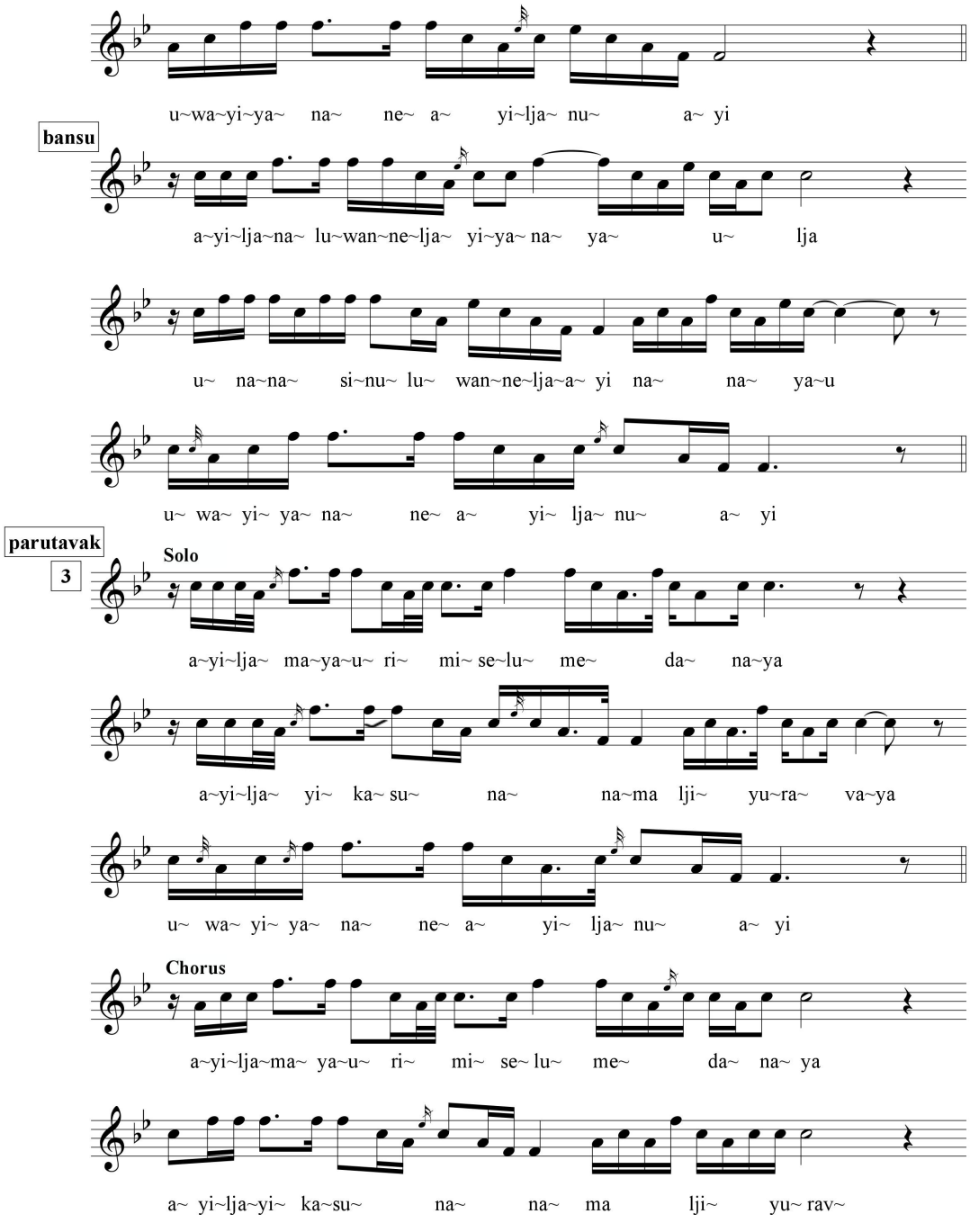
ayiljanaluwan

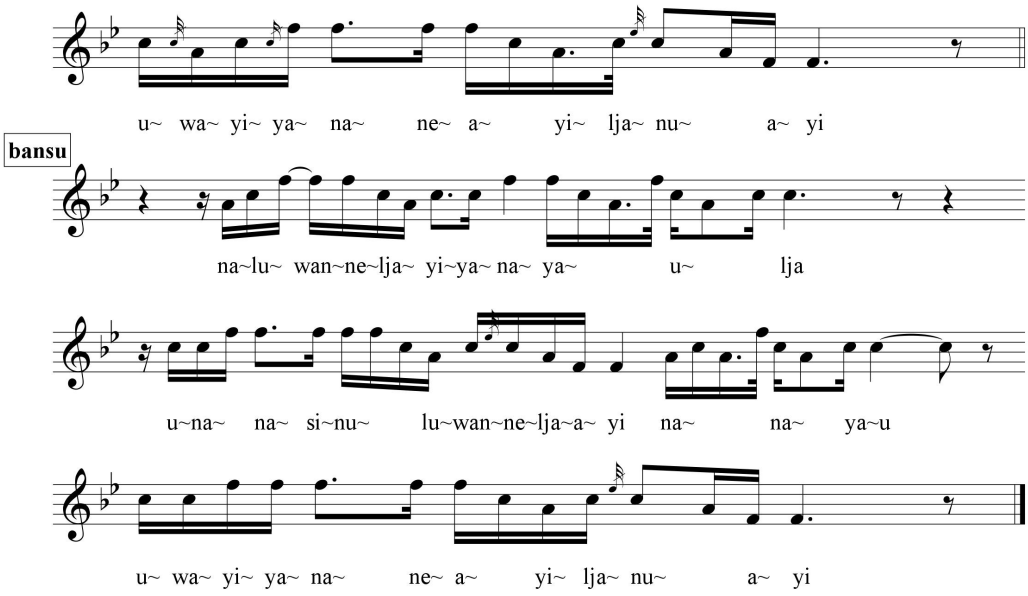
Sung by Kapiyangan village choir
Transcribed by Chia-Hao Hsu

bansu




u~ wa~ yi~ ya~ na~ ne~ a~ yi~lja~ nu~ a~ yi
bansu
a~yi~lja~na~ lu~wan~ne~lja~ yi~ya~ na~ ya~ u~ lja
u~na~ na~ si~ nu~ lu~ wan~ne~lja~a~ yi na~ na~ ya~u
u~ wa~ yi~ ya~ na~ ne~ a~ yi~ lja~ nu~ a~ yi
parutavak
2
Solo
yi~ zu~ wa~ lja~ u~ ma~lu~ me~ dan~ ne~lja
a~yi~lja~ sa~su~ yi~ pu~ ga~lju tu~ zu~ u~ma
u~ wa~ yi~ ya~ na~ ne~ a~ yi~ lja~ nu~ a~ yi
Chorus
a~yi~lja~yi~ zu~wa~ lja~ u~ ma~lu~ me~ dan~ ne~lja
a~ yi~lja~sa~ su~yi~ pu~ ga~ lju tu~ zu~u~ma


u~wa~yi~ya~ na~ ne~ a~ yi~lja~ nu~ a~ yi
bansu
a~yi~lja~na~ lu~wan~ne~lja~ yi~ya~ na~ ya~ u~ lja
u~ na~na~ si~nu~ lu~ wan~ne~lja~a~ yi na~ na~ ya~u
u~ wa~ yi~ ya~ na~ ne~ a~ yi~ lja~ nu~ a~ yi
parutavak
3
Solo
a~yi~lja~ ma~ya~u~ ri~ mi~ se~lu~ me~ da~ na~ya
a~yi~lja~ yi~ ka~ su~ na~ na~ma lji~ yu~ra~ va~ya
u~ wa~ yi~ ya~ na~ ne~ a~ yi~ lja~ nu~ a~ yi
Chorus
a~yi~lja~ma~ ya~u~ ri~ mi~ se~ lu~ me~ da~ na~ ya
a~ yi~lja~yi~ ka~su~ na~ na~ ma lji~ yu~ rav~


u~ wa~ yi~ ya~ na~ ne~ a~ yi~ lja~ nu~ a~ yi
bansu
na~lu~ wan~ne~lja~ yi~ya~ na~ ya~ u~ lja
u~na~ na~ si~nu~ lu~wan~ne~lja~a~ yi na~ na~ ya~u
u~ wa~ yi~ ya~ na~ ne~ a~ yi~ lja~ nu~ a~ yi

2. “Lumamadan”

Transcribed from field recording on June 2, 2017

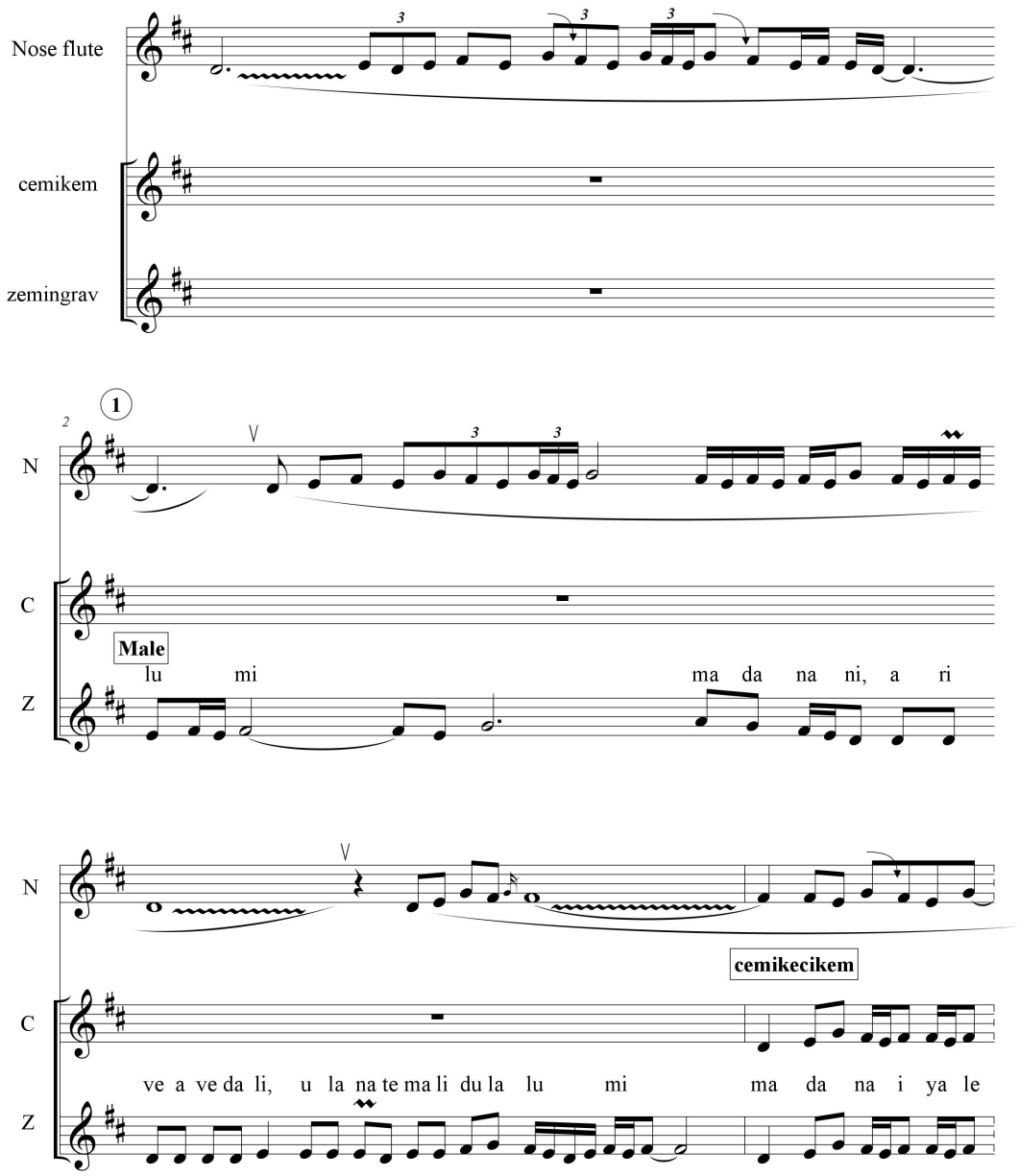
at the National Traditional Arts Center, Yilan, Taiwan

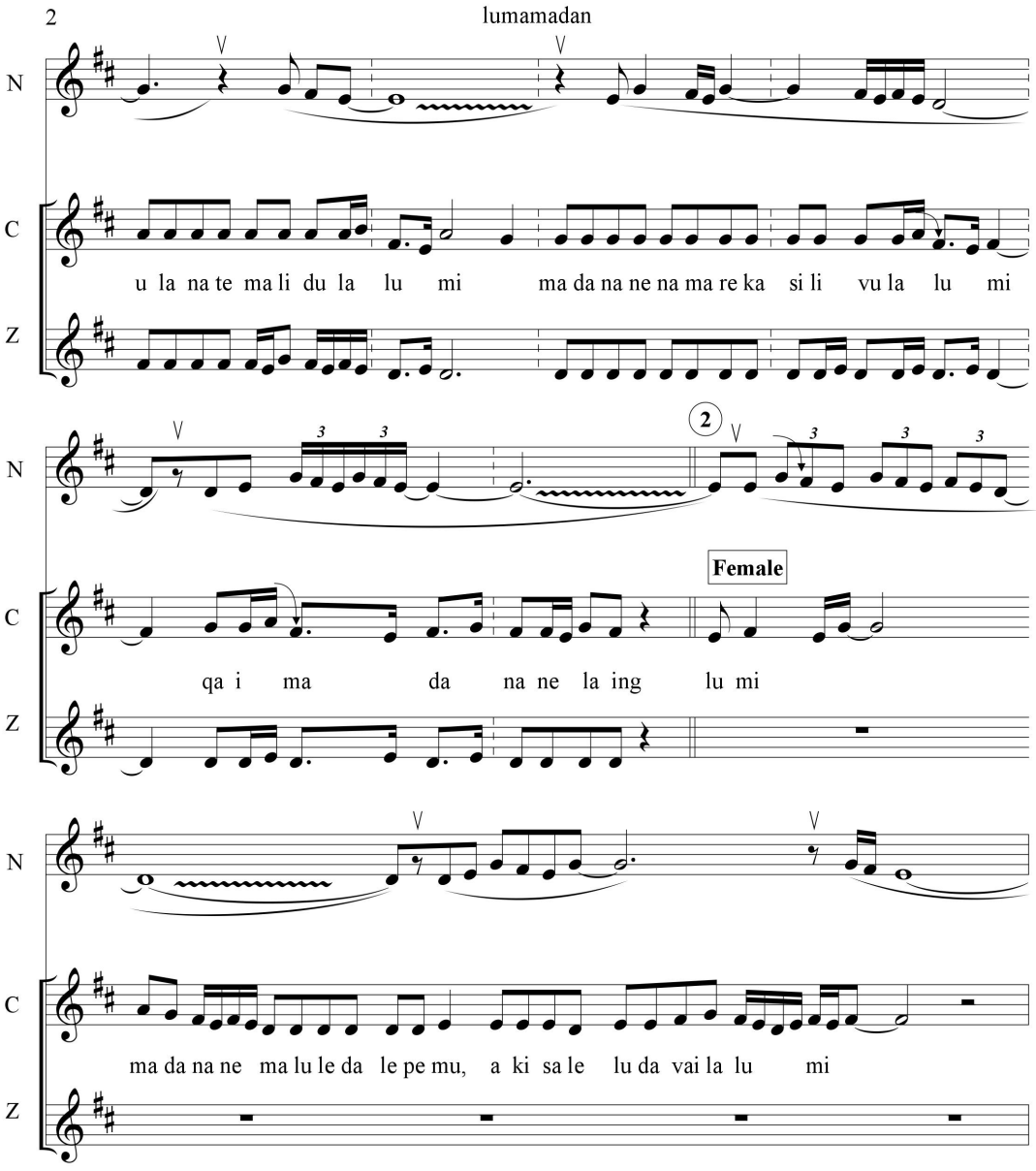
total time: 1:40

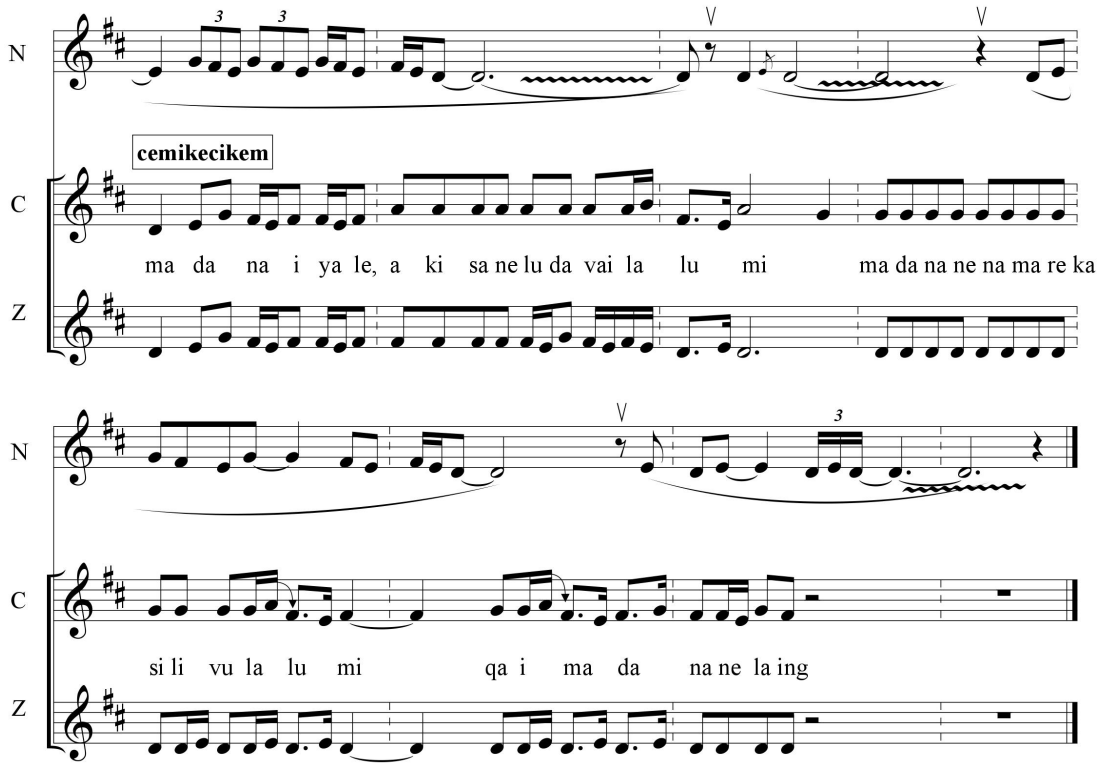
Nose flute by Gilegilau Paqalius

Lumamadan

Transcribed by Chia-Hao Hsu




2
lumamadan
N
C
Z
u la na te ma li du la lu mi ma da na ne na ma re ka si li vu la lu mi
2
Female
qa i ma da na ne la ing lu mi
ma da na ne ma lu le da le pe mu, a ki sa le lu da vai la lu mi


N
C
Z
cemikecikem
ma da na i ya le, a ki sa ne lu da vai la lu mi ma da na ne na ma re ka
si li vu la lu mi qa i ma da na ne la ing

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